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FIFTY-THIRD
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
Hawaiian Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1944



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published April, 1946

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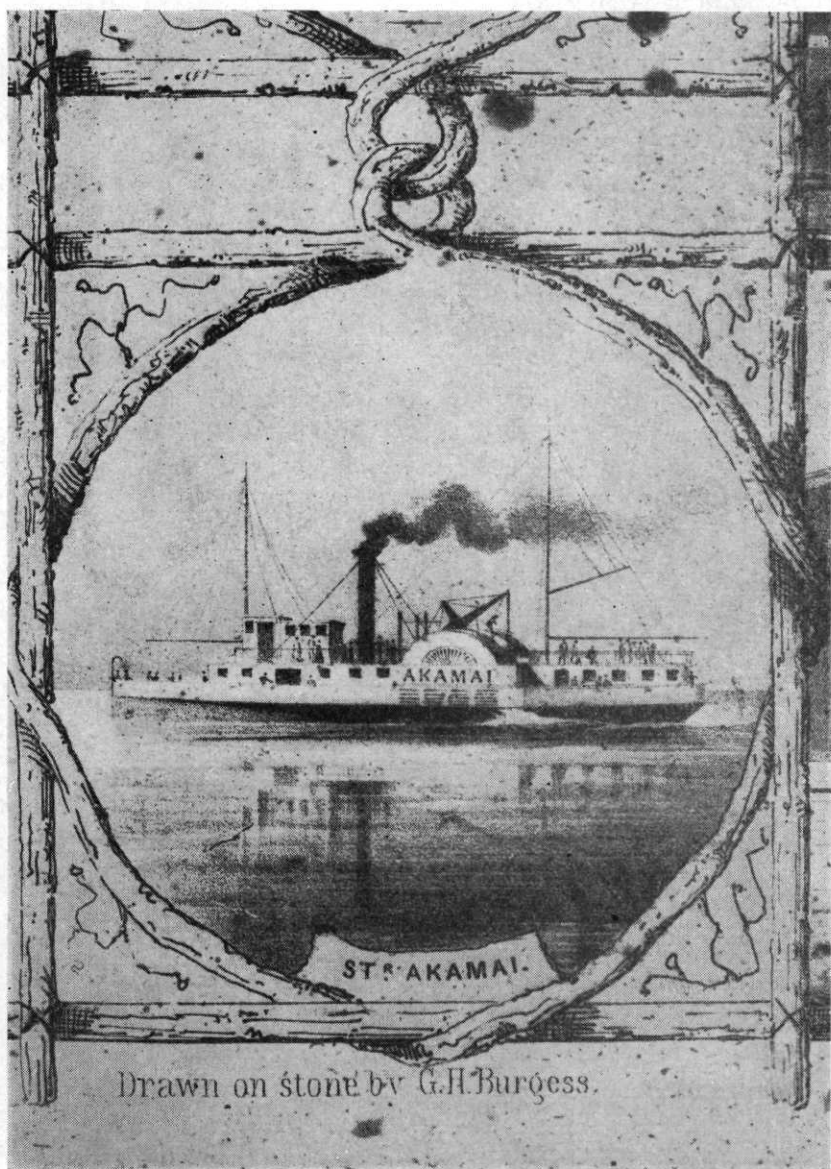
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FROM THE BURGESS' LITHOGRAPHS OF HONOLULU IN 1854

Pioneer Hawaiian Steamers, 1852-1877

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R.

Steam vessels appeared in many seemingly remote parts of the world about the middle of the 19th century. They found their way to the coasts of Asia, South America, and Africa, while even the isolated shores of western North America were not too far for them. It was as a phase in this world-wide expansion of steam navigation that the first steamers came to ply between the Hawaiian Islands.

The coming of commercial steamers to Hawaii was preceded, however, by visits from warships of the great powers interested in the Hawaiian Kingdom. On 22 May 1846, H.M.S. *Cormorant*, a sailing warship with auxiliary steam power, arrived at Honolulu from Callao. She was the first steamer to visit the Hawaiian Islands.¹ Another steam warship, U.S.S. *Massachusetts*, arrived at Honolulu on 9 April 1849, en route to Oregon.² In August of the same year, the French steamer *Gassendi* came from Tahiti to Honolulu to present demands of the French government to the Hawaiian monarch.³

The first commercial steamer came to the Hawaiian Islands in 1852, but for a period of 26 years thereafter inter-island steam navigation remained in a pioneer stage. During these years, the economic life of the Hawaiian Monarchy moved along at a leisurely pace, and there was comparatively little inter-island commerce. Passenger traffic alone was not sufficient to support a flourishing line of steamers, and in these years there was seldom more than one steamer in service between the islands. Inter-island commerce had been carried on for decades by skillfully sailed schooners, and these gave the pioneer steamers strong competition. Thus, the financial story of steamship ventures in these years was not one of profits. Only with the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1876 and the ensuing rapid development of sugar culture in the Hawaiian Islands did inter-island steamship trade begin to flourish.

Plans and proposals preceded the arrival of commercial

¹ Thomas G. Thrum (compiler and publisher). *Hawaiian Almanac Annual for 1879*; a handbook of information on matters relating to the Hawaiian Islands, pp. 31-32. Hereafter cited as *Hawaiian Annual* with date. *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 133.

³ Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu. Sketches of the life social, political and religious in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861 . . .* (Honolulu, 1928), pp. 144-149.

steamships in Honolulu. In 1844, the far-sighted Robert C. Wyllie discussed in his "Notes" the advantages of steam navigation for the inter-island trade, and urged that steps be taken to bring a steamer to Hawaii.⁴ Five years later, Charles E. Hitchcock wrote to Wyllie from Panama, and asked whether a contract with exclusive privileges of inter-island navigation for 10 years could be secured. Hitchcock was interested in the pay which he might receive from the government for carrying mail, and the land grants which might be made for wharves and buildings. If a contract could be had, Hitchcock proposed to come to Honolulu, and have a screw steamer in regular inter-island service within a year. This scheme did not go beyond the stage of a proposal, but it was symptomatic of what was to come.⁵

It was customary for governments to attract and foster the development of steamship communication by granting monopolies, subsidies, and other special concessions to operators. From the first, regular steamship service, particularly over new routes and in regions which were not in a high state of economic development, required some assistance in addition to the regular revenues from passengers and cargo carried. Thus it was not surprising that Hitchcock's initial proposal was concerned with the extent and character of government aid to be furnished. During the entire pioneer period of Hawaiian steam navigation, such aid in one or another form was constantly in requisition and was generally forthcoming. It was only through the assistance provided by the crown that steamers operated with any regularity between the islands during these years.

In 1851, events transpired which made inter-island steamship service at least momentarily a reality. Captain William A. Howard came to Honolulu from San Francisco in the summer of that year to arrange for placing a steamer on the run between the islands. He stated that he represented a group of San Franciscans headed by James Blair, that he desired to become a resident of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and requested the exclusive privilege of inter-island steam navigation for a seven year period. With the monopoly, Howard asked for grants of land for depots, and a reduction or waiver of the duty on the coal and machinery for the use of his vessel. He declared that he could put a steamer on the inter-island run in 90 days, but in case she should be lost, he asked for six months in which to replace her.⁶

The Privy Council of the kingdom took up the business of inter-island steamers on 21 July 1851. In the discussion, the proposition was generally favored, G. P. Judd speaking in favor

⁴ *The Friend*, vol. II, No. 9, 4 September 1844, p. 79.

⁵ Hitchcock to Wyllie, Panama, 16 July 1849, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁶ Howard to Young, Honolulu, 19 July 1851, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

of it and expressing a wish to obtain such a contract for himself. Wyllie read a letter from Hitchcock on the subject, although whether it was that of 1849 previously mentioned or some later one is not apparent. A proposition from a Mr. Fraser was also discussed, and Asher Bates urged the advertisement of an open charter to be awarded to the most favorable bidder. Finally, the Privy Council appointed a committee, consisting of Wyllie, Bates, and William L. Lee, to confer with Howard, and with power to act in fixing definite terms of operation.⁷

This committee reported back on 25 July, and a formal "ordinance granting certain privileges to William A. Howard and others in relation to inter-island navigation" was signed by the king the same day. This gave Howard the sole right to establish inter-island steamship service in the Hawaiian Kingdom for five years. He received the same exemptions and privileges which merchantmen owned by the crown enjoyed. Howard agreed to have one steamer in service by the end of November 1851, and a second by 1 September 1853 unless it could be demonstrated to the king and Privy Council that the trade did not warrant two vessels. A six month extension would be granted if the steamer were lost between 1 September and the end of November 1851. The privilege would be forfeited if service were abandoned at any time. Howard's steamers were to fly the Hawaiian flag, and their coal would be duty free, while vessels bringing coal or equipment for them would pay no tonnage dues, provided they did no other business. Government wharves would be available for Howard's steamers without charge, and he would carry Hawaiian mail free.⁸ Thus Howard gained a monopoly of Hawaiian inter-island service, but the Crown did not obligate itself to make any cash outlay to support his venture. He returned forthwith to San Francisco to arrange for his first steamer.

There were delays in the arrival of Howard's steamer, however. Hitchcock wrote to Wyllie from San Francisco in October 1851, describing Howard as a "great boaster", and doubting whether he would be able to find backers for the project.⁹ Howard himself reported in the same month that as a result of a proposal to open a line of steamers between San Francisco and Honolulu he had delayed his arrangements since if the trans-Pacific line materialized he would want a larger steamer for his inter-island line. He also hinted at trouble in locating a steamer, saying that *Quickstep* had passed from his hands, but that

⁷ Privy Council Minutes, 21 July 1851, secretary's copy, and Wyllie's notes, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁸ Privy Council Minutes, 25 July 1851. "An Ordinance granting certain privileges to William A. Howard and others, in relation to inter-island navigation" (25 July 1851), ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁹ Hitchcock to Wyllie, 11 October 1851, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Washington was available, albeit she would need a new boiler.¹⁰ The burden of his letter was that he would require time beyond the end of November to get a steamer to the Hawaiian Islands. This letter came to the Privy Council on 17 November, and on the 24th that body determined to extend Howard's time for 60 days, at the end of which time the contract would go, on the same terms, to whomsoever would first place an efficient steamer of proper capacity "in the King's waters".¹¹

Howard produced a steamer before his extension of time was up. He chartered the twin screw steamer *Constitution* from the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., and she arrived in Honolulu under Howard's command on 24 January 1852, 28 days from San Francisco.¹² The coming of the steamer threw Honolulu into great excitement, and shortly after her arrival, handbills, posted throughout the town, announced that she would make a trip to Hawaii by way of Maui. Before she sailed, however, this was contradicted. The news circulated that there was insufficient inducement for *Constitution* to ply between the islands and that she would therefore return at once to San Francisco. There were all sorts of reasons advanced for this change. The general slowness of business, the want of money, the absence of a market for Hawaiian products, the excessive size of *Constitution*, and the competition of the schooners, all came in for their share of blame. These were all good reasons. The real reason probably was that Howard had never intended to keep her in the inter-island trade, but had merely sent her to Honolulu before the end of January in order to fulfill the terms of his agreement and secure the contract until such time as he could produce a more suitable ship.¹³

Constitution made one round trip from Honolulu to Lahaina before heading back for San Francisco. She sailed late on the afternoon of 31 January 1852, arrived at Lahaina at 2 o'clock

¹⁰ Howard to Wyllie, 14 October 1851, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

¹¹ Privy Council Minutes, 17, 24 November 1851.

¹² Hitchcock wrote to Wyllie on the day of *Constitution's* sailing from San Francisco that there was not much prospect that she would make money, and that he anticipated that the Pacific Mail was sending her to Honolulu for only one trip in order to establish that company as pioneer in the Hawaiian business and therefore entitled to any future mail contract. He described Howard as a great romancer who all his life had been engaged in magnificent schemes for making his fortune. From this letter it is not clear whether Howard chartered *Constitution*, or whether the Pacific Mail sent her on its own risk. Hitchcock to Wyllie, 24 December 1851, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Constitution—Built at Philadelphia in 1849-1850. Her dimensions were 167 ft. x 26 ft. x 12.8 ft., draft 11 ft., tonnage 530. She sailed from New York to San Francisco in 1850, and made two voyages from San Francisco to Panama for J. Howard and Son before coming under Pacific Mail ownership. After her Hawaiian voyage, her engines were removed, and she was rebuilt as a bark in 1860.

¹³ *Polynesian*, 31 January 1852.

the next morning, and reached Honolulu once more at 9 o'clock on the morning of 2 February. A passenger reported that her motion was worse than that of the schooners.¹⁴

The steamer started for San Francisco on 4 February. There was an optimistic report that Howard would have a smaller and more suitable steamer on the run in 60 days, and that *Constitution* would run from San Francisco to Honolulu. There was even talk of a trans-Pacific steamship line by the end of 1852.¹⁵ Howard himself wrote the Privy Council on 29 January, pointing to his good intentions as evidenced by bringing *Constitution* to Honolulu in order to secure the contract, stating that he planned to substitute a less expensive steamer for her, and requesting that the return of *Constitution* to San Francisco not be regarded as an abandonment of the contract.¹⁶

The Privy Council deliberated on this request, and on 8 March voted that it could not recede from the stand taken in November that if Howard did not carry out the terms of his agreement, the contract would be open to the first person putting a suitable steamer in service. This evidently discouraged Howard, for his proposed more suitable steamer never appeared.¹⁷

The next step in the direction of establishing inter-island steamer service came in the summer of 1853. On 1 August, Richard H. Bowlin, representing a group of San Franciscans, submitted a proposal on that subject to the Privy Council. This

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 February 1852.

Elizabeth Leslie Wight, *The memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder* (Honolulu, 1909), pp. 97-98. Hereafter cited as Wilder, *Memoirs*.

¹⁵ *Polynesian*, 7 February 1852.

¹⁶ Howard to Young, Honolulu, 29 February 1852, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

¹⁷ Privy Council Minutes, 8 March 1852, ms., Archives of Hawaii. Wyllie's notes state that there was objection to complying with the request on the basis of Howard's personal character. This may indicate that he was associated with the filibustering activities against the Hawaiian Monarchy then projected in California.

Wyllie to Howard, Honolulu, 8 March 1852, ms., Archives of Hawaii. Hitchcock wrote Wyllie that on the return of *Constitution* to San Francisco there was no disposition to abandon the program. William Glen reported to the secretary of the company which led to this conclusion. The steamer then being considered was *West Point*, then in service on the Sacramento River, which was economical to operate, and could be converted to burn wood. Hitchcock to Wyllie, San Francisco, 27 February 1852, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

A letter from William Glen to Wyllie in May 1852, indicates that the project was still alive, for Glen writes that Wyllie's name has been placed at the head of the list of directors of the Sandwich Islands Steam Co., says that the duties would not be heavy and the name would be of value in San Francisco and England, and that although affairs were progressing slowly, a steamer was being sought.

Glen to Wyllie, San Francisco, 5 May 1852, ms., Archives of Hawaii. There is no indication of Wyllie's reaction to this offer.

found a favorable reception, and on 14 November 1853, the side wheel steamer *S. B. Wheeler* arrived at Honolulu after a passage of 20 days from San Francisco. She had made the voyage with the aid of sails rigged on a jury mast, and had touched on the coast of Hawaii and at Lahaina before reaching Honolulu.¹⁸

S. B. Wheeler was built at Eastport, Maine in 1848. Like so many other Atlantic coasting steamers, she had been brought to California when the Gold Rush stimulated the demand for water transportation there. She operated on the Sacramento River until the profits from that trade began to decline. Then a group of San Francisco "speculators" organized the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co., bought *S. B. Wheeler*, and sent her to Honolulu. She was a small steamer, just over 106 feet long, and with a tonnage of 114. Her paddle wheels were driven by a walking beam engine.¹⁹

The charter which Captain Howard had failed to fulfill was open to whoever would place a proper steamer "in the King's waters", and it was the object of the owners of *S. B. Wheeler* to obtain it.

After the Howard experience, however, the Privy Council determined to examine the character of the steamer before making a final decision. A committee of three members, therefore, went on *S. B. Wheeler* on her first trip from Honolulu to Lahaina and return, sailing on 16 November. The run to Lahaina was made in 13 hours, and the return trip in 11. At this, the committee expressed its satisfaction with the steamer, and her owners received the charter.²⁰

On 19 December 1853, the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. was chartered with the exclusive privilege of operating in Hawaiian waters for 10 years, as well as of operating the towing service at Honolulu. For five years water and wharfage were to be free, and for the whole period coal and equipment were to be duty free. Another steamer was to be added to the line within a year, the ships of the company were to be available to the government in case of emergency, and mail and persons on official

¹⁸ *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, passed by the Nobles and Representatives at their session, 1854* (Honolulu, 1854), p. 8. Hereafter cited as *Laws of . . . session, 1854*.

Polynesian, 19 November 1853.

G. D. Gilman, "Old Time Hawaiian coasting service," *Hawaiian Annual*, 1894, pp. 88-90.

¹⁹ *S. B. Wheeler*. Built Eastport, Maine, 1848. One deck, no mast, square stern. 106 ft. 4 in. x 17 ft. x 6 ft. 7½ in. 113 91/95 tons. Registered Passamaquoddy, Maine 16 October 1849. Last document, Permanent Register No. 80, San Francisco, 19 October 1853. Surrendered abroad 13 March 1854 with notation, "sold to foreigners". National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²⁰ *Polynesian*, 19 November 1853.

government business were to be carried free. Revision of passenger, freight, and towing rates would be in the hands of the Supreme Court.²¹

The steamer was now admitted to Hawaiian registry, and her name changed to *Akamai*. Her first regular trip was from Honolulu to Kauai on 28 November 1853.²² Most of *Akamai*'s voyages were from Honolulu to Lahaina, but occasionally she revisited Kauai, as well as doing duty as a tug at Honolulu when needed. She proved to be smaller than desirable for the rough Hawaiian waters. Her last sailing from Honolulu was on 29 September 1854. It was described as follows:

"She started for Lahaina, having on board between four and five hundred passengers (sic.) and nineteen horses. Among the passengers were the Princes Alexander and Lot, and a large number of well known Honolulu residents. When she left her guards were under water, and apprehensions were expressed that she would meet with some disaster. With calm weather she might have made the passage to Lahaina in safety; but about 10 o'clock at night she was struck by a heavy squall, a heavy sea arose, and she sprung a leak. She was fortunately got about and kept afloat into the harbor, much to the relief of her passengers who were justly alarmed from the fact that the water was over ankle deep on her cabin floor."²³

Thus ended the inter-island career of *Akamai*, for after this experience she was condemned as unseaworthy, retired to towing service, and was eventually broken up at Emmes' shipyard.²⁴

Previous to this, Captain John T. Wright became a stockholder in the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. Wright controlled the California Steam Navigation Co., which had a virtual monopoly on river and coastwise steamer service in California, and he gave not only added financial backing, but also was able to provide other steamers to take the place of *Akamai*.²⁵

There was only a short break in service after *Akamai*'s withdrawal, before *Sea Bird*, the first steamer sent out by Wright,

²¹ *Laws of . . . session, 1854*, pp. 8-11. The incorporators were: Garret W. Ryckman, Emery T. Pease, William A. Lighthall, Perry G. Childs, and Richard H. Bowlin. The last named was resident agent in Honolulu. This charter was confirmed by an act of 1 May 1854.

²² *Polynesian*, 19 November 1853.

²³ Henry L. Sheldon, "Reminiscences of Henry L. Sheldon of persons and events in the Hawaiian Islands from 1852 to 1863." *Saturday Press*, 1881-1882, typed copy in Archives of Hawaii.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Thomas G. Thrum, "Brief history of the steam coasting service of the Hawaiian Islands," *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 71. Hereafter cited as *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889.

Hawaiian Annual, 1894, pp. 88-90.

arrived at Honolulu on 16 October 1854. Her 12 days' passage had been more than her limited bunker capacity would carry her, and she came into port "having used up all her coal, a supply of 'blubber scraps' obtained en route from the whaleship *Oregon*, besides all the steerage bunks and every other available bit of wood on board, and reached the wharf with barely enough steam from the last keg of butter to turn the wheels."²⁶

A second steamer, *West Point*, arrived in Honolulu on 23 October, after a 23 day passage under sail and therefore free of the anxieties which *Sea Bird* experienced.²⁷

Both vessels were side wheelers, and had been built in New York, *West Point* in 1849, and *Sea Bird* in 1850. They too had come to the Pacific coast as a result of the Gold Rush, and with the decline of demand for steamers on the rivers and coasts of California were available for other service. Considerably larger than *Akamai*, *Sea Bird* had a tonnage of 444, and *West Point* of 240.²⁸

On entering the inter-island trade, *Sea Bird* made trips between Honolulu and the principal ports of Maui and Hawaii. *West Point*, renamed *Kalama*, in honor of the queen, operated between Oahu and Kauai. Both steamers enjoyed large passenger patronage, especially at the time of the funeral of King Kamehameha III late in 1854, when they were packed trip after trip. They were reportedly too expensive and cumbersome to be well suited to the Hawaiian trade, however.

Nevertheless, they plied between the islands for over a year. On 5 January 1856, *Kalama* went ashore at Koloa on the coast of Kauai in a heavy kona storm. She bilged at once and became a total wreck in a few hours. Not long thereafter *Sea Bird* was withdrawn from inter-island service, and returned to the Pacific coast. It remained for the San Francisco backers of the line to decide whether to send out another vessel, and they concluded not to do so.²⁹

²⁶ *Polynesian*, 21 October 1854.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 October 1854.

²⁸ *West Point*. Built New York, 1849, by Brown and English. One deck, no mast, round stern. 157 ft. x 24 ft., 8 in. x 6 ft., 6 in. 239 94/95 tons. Registered New York 16 November 1849. Last document surrendered San Francisco 28 September 1854, "Vessel under Hawaiian Flag."

Sea Bird. Built New York, 1850, by W. H. Brown. One deck, two masts, round stern. 163 ft. x 26 ft. x 11 ft. 443 71/95 tons. Registered New York 29 November 1850. Last document, Temporary Register No. 29, issued at Port Townsend, 1 June 1858; not surrendered.

National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Sea Bird was renamed *Kamehameha*, but was never known by that name.

²⁹ Thomas Mincer to S. Spencer, Clerk, Interior Department, Honolulu, 21 February 1865, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 73. It is said that *Sea Bird* eventually went to China for service. See note 20 for her location in 1858.

The Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. still owned the old *Akamai*, however, which was engaged as a tug in Honolulu Harbor in 1856. She gained a competitor that year when the Hawaiian Government brought out the screw tug *Pele* to tow barges about the harbor in connection with the dredging operations which were inaugurated that year. *Pele* served, with short interruptions, as the sole tug for shipping at Honolulu until after 1882.³⁰

The departure of *Sea Bird* ended the succession of inter-island side wheelers, owned or controlled by non-Hawaiian interests. It was clear by now that the steamship business in the Hawaiian Islands was not very profitable. Therefore outside capital was not attracted to the field, but Hawaiian subjects with considerable government backing hereafter were the owners and operators of steamers.

Four years passed after the end of the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co.'s activities before another inter-island steamer appeared. These years saw continual efforts to bring steamers to the islands, however. The Legislature passed, on 2 May 1856, an act which empowered the Minister of Interior to buy or have a steamer built for the inter-island trade to cost not over \$60,000. On 9 June of the same year, \$20,000 was appropriated to carry out this act. Robert C. Wyllie, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, at once took steps to have a steamer ordered in the United States, but the financial situation of the monarchy became such in the summer of 1856 that funds were not available, and the plan had to be dropped for the time.³¹

In 1858, Wyllie wrote to Robert C. Janion, Hawaiian consul in Liverpool, requesting him to obtain proposals from leading British ship-builders for a 500 ton iron, screw steamer.³² He expected that the 1858 Legislature would make more adequate provisions for building a steamer than that of 1856. Janion forwarded offers from at least six British builders, but none of them materialized into an Hawaiian steamer.³³

Finally, the government requested the Honolulu firm of C. A. Williams and Co. to offer proposals for building and operating an inter-island vessel. In reply, C. A. Williams and Co. agreed to furnish a steam, screw steamer for inter-island

³⁰ Thomas Mincer to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 4 November 1856, ms., Archives of Hawaii. Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. claimed a government refund for 1856 for losses to *Akamai* due to *Pele*'s competition in violation of the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co.'s monopoly.

Hawaiian Annual, 1882, p. 7.

³¹ R. C. Wyllie to Henry A. Pierce, Honolulu, 18 May 1857, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

³² R. C. Wyllie to R. C. Janion, Honolulu, 18 January 1858, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

³³ R. C. Janion to R. C. Wyllie, Liverpool, 14 May 1858, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

service and run her for six years provided they were guaranteed a monopoly for that term, received exemption from port, pilot, and wharfage charges and taxes, coal and equipment were duty free, and held the option to give up the service if the vessel were lost before the six year term was up.³⁴ After some negotiations, this offer was accepted, and the Legislature of 1858 passed an act which constituted Charles A. Williams, A. Mitchell, James M. Green, and their associates a body corporate under the name of Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co., and confirmed to them the privileges requested.³⁵

The steamer destined to carry out this contract, and to be the mainstay of inter-island navigation for 15 years was *Kilauea* (I), built by Paul Curtis in Boston in 1859 for Charles A. Williams. After being fitted with her engines at New London, she sailed for Honolulu, reaching her destination on 28 June 1860, 128 days from New London. Most of the voyage she made under sail, which accounts for the long passage.³⁶

Kilauea had an enthusiastic reception at Honolulu, the natives showing special interest in her. On 3 July, she ran her speed trials off the port with the king, some of the ministers, nobles, and members of the House of Representatives as passengers. The results of the trial were satisfactory, and *Kilauea* sailed for Kauai on the 18th of July on her first inter-island voyage. Returning to Honolulu on 22 July, she departed for Hilo on the 24th.³⁷

Kilauea was a smaller steamer than the paddle wheelers which had preceded her, measuring 399 tons and 137 feet in length. Two direct acting engines drove her propeller, giving her a designed speed of 7 to 10 miles per hour. She was schooner rigged, and used her sails extensively in supplementing what was really merely an auxiliary engine. During her career, she burned both wood and coal. The passenger accommodations of *Kilauea* were simple, although they were well lighted and ventilated by ports and skylights, and the quality of joiner work in them was praised by contemporaries. She had no private rooms, three tiers of berths running down either side of her long cabin. Most of the passengers remained on deck as a matter of choice.³⁸

³⁴ C. A. Williams and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 21 June 1858, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

³⁵ *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 73.

³⁶ *Polynesian*, 30 June 1860.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7, 21, 28 July, 3 August 1860.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 18 July 1860.

³⁸ *Kilauea*. Built at Boston, 1859, by Paul Curtis. Two decks, two masts, round stern. 137 ft. x 24 ft., 11 in. x 16 ft., 4 in. 399 16/95 tons. Finely shaped model, light hurricane deck over whole length, wheel house amidships on hurricane deck. Frame of hull of white oak, hackmatack, oak plank outside to load line and hard pine above. Copper fastened. Diag-

The steamer's appearance in Hawaiian waters was on a probationary basis. A special act of the legislature permitted her to continue to fly the United States flag for six months after beginning inter-island service. Her owners had to run her for at least two months or be fined \$10,000. If, during the first four months of her Hawaiian service, her owners should desire to withdraw her from the service, the government reserved the right to buy her for \$50,000.³⁹ In late September, 1860, there were efforts in Honolulu to raise money to pay for *Kilauea*, and during October she was formally transferred to the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. The Hawaiian Government, as well as Honolulu merchants and residents, invested in the steamer. She began her regular service under the agency of Janion, Green, and Co. on 30 October.⁴⁰

In the late summer and early fall of 1860, *Kilauea's* voyages roughly alternated between Kauai and the windward islands. Her schedule for November called for sailings on alternate Tuesdays from Honolulu to Lahaina, Makee's Landing [Makena], Honoipu, and Hilo, with voyages to Kauai in the intervening weeks. At this time it was announced that she had just been altered at considerable expense to carry horses and cattle "to both of which every attention will be paid by Captain Berrill . . ."⁴¹ A month later, a revised schedule provided for no voyages to Kauai, but took her weekly from Honolulu to Kealahou via way ports. A connecting schooner at Kawaihae carried passengers to Hilo. Rates from Honolulu to Lahaina were \$5, and to ports on Hawaii \$10.⁴²

From the beginning, *Kilauea* did not have an easy time financially. The schooners which had hitherto carried all inter-island commerce gave her competition. While she was more dependable than the sailing vessels, and took most of the passenger trade, they continued to carry much of the heavy cargo

onally strapped with $3\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{5}{8}$ inch iron. Covered with yellow metal to deep load line. Two direct acting, condensing engines, cylinders placed over cranks, 26 in. diameter, 3 ft. stroke. Air and feed pumps of each engine independent. Composition propeller 9 ft. diameter cast by H. N. Hooper and Co., New London. Engines designed to give speed of 6-7 m.p.h. against trade wind, 10 m.p.h. Brigantine rigged at time of arrival in Honolulu and for 6 months thereafter. Eventually altered to schooner rig. Initially registered as owned by Charles A. Williams, New London, Conn. Temporary register No. 361 issued Boston 16 December 1859. Permanent register No. 1 issued at New London 4 January 1860.

National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 5 July 1860.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 73.

³⁹ *Polynesian*, 21 July 1860. Act approved 18 July 1860. Bond of Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co., 18 July 1860, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁴⁰ *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 74.

⁴¹ *Polynesian*, 4 August, 20 October 1860.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1 December 1860.

because their owners controlled it, and because their rates were lower.⁴³ Her first year was fairly prosperous, however, the newspapers frequently mentioning that *Kilauea* was crowded with passengers, and had a full cargo of freight aboard. There was even talk of sending to England for an iron steamer to supplant her.⁴⁴

The financial returns from *Kilauea's* operation were uncertain, however, and her joint ownership by the Crown and private individuals caused trouble. By May 1862, Janion, Green, and Co. had purchased almost all the privately owned stock in the steamer, and the firm proposed either to buy out the shares held by the Crown or to sell its holdings to the government rather than continue the joint arrangement.⁴⁵ No change in ownership took place, however, but during May and June 1862, *Kilauea* was offered for sale, and a prospectus issued which proposed to found a new company with \$100,000 capital to buy and run *Kilauea* until she could be sold and a more suitable vessel bought or ordered. In June, \$16,000 in preferred shares were issued.⁴⁶

In July 1862, the Legislature passed an act to promote inter-island communication which granted to Janion, Green, and associates the exclusive right to run inter-island steamers for a term of 12 years under the name of the Hawaiian Steam and General Inter Island Navigation Co. This company would receive free water and wharfage, and would pay no license fees, port charges, or property taxes. It was to carry the mails free. This act specified that it did not become law until the charter of the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. was surrendered.⁴⁷ The new arrangement did not go into effect at once, but in May 1863, Janion, Green and Co. asked that the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. receive the privileges and extension of charter granted the year before. At this time, the financial results of *Kilauea's* operation showed some promise of making her self-supporting if not profitable.⁴⁸ This did not materialize, however, and in September 1864, the Crown proposed to sell *Kilauea* and the company charter to the highest bidder. Janion, Green continued to propose that either they or the government

⁴³ *Polynesian*, 28 July 1860.

⁴⁴ *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 74.

⁴⁵ Janion, Green and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 5 May 1862, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁴⁶ *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 75.

⁴⁷ W. L. Green to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 6 May 1863, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁴⁸ *Laws . . . passed by the Nobles and Representatives at their session, 1862* (Honolulu, 1862), pp. 17-20.

⁴⁹ W. L. Green to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 6 May 1863, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

sell out, but without result.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1865, Janion, Green, and Co. requested that the affairs of the company be wound up, *Kilauea* having lost \$1270 since she resumed operation in 1864.⁵⁰

The elements took a hand in the affairs of *Kilauea* when she was driven ashore and took a severe pounding on the reef at Kawaihae in January 1866. After survey, she was sold at auction on 20 February 1866 to L. L. Torbert for \$6100. Janion, Green negotiated with the California Steam Navigation Co. for another steamer, but without result. In the meantime, *Kilauea* was salvaged and returned to Honolulu, where she was again auctioned off, being purchased by Walker, Allen, and Co. on 19 May 1866 for \$16,000. After repairs, the old steamer went

At this time, the stock of the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. was held as follows:

H. M. Government	
Common	\$40,000
Preferred	10,900
	<hr/>
	\$50,900
Janion, Green, and Co.	
Common	\$16,250
Preferred	5,100
	<hr/>
	\$21,350
R. C. Wyllie (sold to Janion, Green, and Co.)	
Common	\$ 1,000
William Berrill (sold to Janion, Green, and Co.)	
Common	1,250

W. L. Green to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 28 May 1863, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Kilauea's average receipts per trip for current quarter \$1100. For four best of eight trips in last quarter \$1437.14. With improving economy of islands, estimated receipts in future \$1600-\$1700 per trip. Running expenses should not exceed \$7000 per quarter.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 75. Receipts for quarter ending 31 March 1862 \$7729. Receipts for quarter ending 31 March 1863 \$9499.

⁴⁹ W. L. Green to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 3, 19 September 1864, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁵⁰ Janion, Green, and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 5 July 1865, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

At this time *Kilauea* owed:

Janion, Green, and Co.	\$ 8,388.97
Others	1429.94
	<hr/>
	\$ 9818.91

Her assets were:

Coal	\$ 4,445.85
Bills collectable	2304.91
Wharves and buildings	1588.54
Working stock	1390.18
	<hr/>
	\$ 9729.48

back to inter-island service, but was withdrawn more than once due to lack of funds.⁵¹

In May 1867, she was bought once more by the Hawaiian Steam and General Inter Island Navigation Co., which put her on the inter-island route under their 1862 charter. Previously she had sailed under the agency of Janion, Green, and Co.⁵²

Lack of funds brought about the withdrawal of *Kilauea* from the inter-island trade on 30 September 1867, and she only resumed service after a government subsidy had been provided. The company agreed in October to surrender the 1862 charter with its exclusive privileges, and to send the steamer on 36 trips between the islands in return for a subsidy of \$8,000 to \$10,000 a year. A contract to this effect was arranged on 13 November, and *Kilauea* put to sea once again on the 18th of that month. The Legislature of 1868 confirmed this contract for \$10,000 for weekly trips from Honolulu to Lahaina, Kealahou, Kawaihae, and Hilo, and agreed to pay \$5,000 more if an additional steamer were placed on the Kauai run.⁵³ The contract expired on 14 November, 1868, however, and *Kilauea* was withdrawn from service and laid up once again. On 2 December the Honolulu Iron Works bought her for \$3700.⁵⁴

For the next two years, there was no inter-island steamship service. *Kilauea* remained laid up in Honolulu, and the schooners once more had the whole trade between the islands to themselves. In 1870, however, the government determined to finance the resumption of steamship service. The Legislature of 1870 appropriated \$25,000 for inter-island steam navigation, with an additional \$12,000 for a steamer to Kauai at the discretion of the Cabinet. At the next session, \$12,000 was appropriated for this purpose, and the Minister of the Interior was authorized to buy a contract for the building of a steamer, costing not more than \$80,000, which could make a weekly circuit of Hawaii.

⁵¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 20 January 1866.

Report by William Berrill, William M. Lambert, Daniel Foster to J. C. Pfluger, Honolulu, 6 February 1866, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Janion, Green, and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 19 March 1866, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 76.

⁵² *Idem*.

Janion, Green, and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 20, 30 May 1867, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁵³ W. L. Green, J. W. Austin, C. R. Bishop, H. A. Widemann to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 16 October 1867, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Rough draft of agreement between Minister of Interior and Hawaiian Steam and General Inter Island Navigation Co., Honolulu, November 1867, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

W. L. Green to Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures, Honolulu, 5 May 1868, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 76.

⁵⁴ *Idem*.

With this appropriation, the government purchased *Kilauea*, and put her back into service under its sole ownership on 10 October 1870.⁵⁵ Thus the long experiment in joint government and private ownership of the steamer came to an end, and she operated for the rest of her career for the Hawaiian government alone.

During the last half-dozen years of *Kilauea's* service, she met a measure of financial success. At first, she was managed by C. H. Judd, who accepted this post on 24 September 1870.⁵⁶ He was soon succeeded by Samuel G. Wilder, who was to become the leading figure in Hawaiian inter-island transportation. Previously, Wilder had engaged in guano and sugar plantation enterprises without great success, but he managed *Kilauea* with energy and ability, laying the foundations for a leading place in the economic life of the Hawaiian Monarchy. *Kilauea* had cost \$53,787 to buy and repair in 1870. At the end of March 1872, she had paid all expenses, including an \$11,000 repair bill, and showed a balance of \$2,000. During the next two years, Wilder reported that her schedule was frequently interrupted to make special trips for the king, and in 1874 he had to call on the legislature for a subsidy appropriation of \$5350. Two years later, a further appropriation of \$9512 was called for to make up the deficit of the steamer. Between April and November 1876, however, she showed a profit of \$7508.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 76-77.

Laws . . . passed by Legislative Assembly at its session of 1872 (Honolulu, 1872), p. 16.

⁵⁶ C. H. Judd to F. W. Hitchcock, Honolulu, 24 September 1870, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁵⁷ General statement of *Kilauea*.

	1 Apr. 1872	1 Apr. 1874	15 Apr.
Receipts	1 Apr. 1874 (104 trips)	1 Apr. 1876 (97 trips)	18 Nov. 1876 (29 trips)
Passengers	\$ 59,795.25	\$ 56,224.45	\$ 21,672.85
Freight	46,988.59	44,561.67	15,237.94
	<hr/> \$106,783.84	<hr/> \$100,786.12	<hr/> \$ 36,910.79
Expenses			
Supplies	\$ 11,730.21	\$ 11,669.41	\$ 2,928.02
Repairs	19,810.24	22,715.99	3,186.92
Sundry Expenses	2,119.44	2,758.65	400.21
Lighterage	3,103.83	2,324.48	616.62
Wages	32,812.50	35,093.05	11,433.25
Coal	40,550.29	35,210.39	10,712.25
Washing	408.00	526.54	125.35
Profit and loss	1,334.22		
	<hr/> \$111,866.73	<hr/> \$110,298.42	<hr/> \$ 29,401.62
Loss	\$ 5,082.89	Loss \$ 9,512.30	Prof. \$ 7,508.20

General statements of *Kilauea* 31 March 1874; 31 March 1876; 18 November 1876, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

S. G. Wilder to Minister of Interior, 31 December 1874, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Although coal, which she burned on an average of 31 tons for a voyage from Honolulu to Hawaii, was the largest item in *Kilauea's* expense account, her age was beginning to tell, and the repair bill was the third in size on the account, amounting to approximately half the fuel cost. The small size of her freight receipts bears witness to the still undeveloped economic life of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as well as to the continued competition of the schooners. *Kilauea's* passenger income was consistently larger than that from freight.⁵⁸

During these years, most of *Kilauea's* voyages were from Honolulu to Hawaii, with calls at ports on Maui, Molokai, and Lanai. Some trips circumnavigated Hawaii, while others terminated at Hilo. Occasional voyages went to Kauai. In a period of seven months, *Kilauea* made 24 windward trips to Hawaii, and five to Kauai.

Cabin passage rates varied from \$6.00 from Honolulu to Lahaina to \$22.00 for the round trip around Hawaii. From Honolulu to Hilo was \$12.50, and to Kauai was \$8.00. Deck passage, for Hawaiians only, was a flat \$3.00 with food, or \$2.00 without. Package freight was \$3.00 a ton from Honolulu to Maui, and \$5.00 a ton to Hawaii. Sugar from Hilo to Honolulu varied from \$3.75 to \$5.25 a ton "according to where taken from either store-house or plantation."⁵⁹

During her many years of inter-island voyaging, *Kilauea* became an Hawaiian institution. Although she did not displace the schooners in the trade, she offered faster and more dependable service than they could, and therefore took most of the passenger traffic. Her passenger lists bristled with the names of royalty and government officers who travelled from island to island in her, and in spite of her lively actions in a seaway, she was a general favorite. Although a small vessel, her capacity to carry passengers seemed almost limitless. In 1874, she carried 76 cabin

⁵⁸ See previous note.

Kilauea's average expense per voyage for 121 trips was:

Supplies	\$ 104.50
Repairs	148.34
Sundry expenses	26.05
Lighterage at Kawaihae	35.96
Wages of crew and agents	286.36
Coal	376.00
Washing	4.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 981.21

Average expenses of 121 trips of the *Stmr. Kilauea*, S. G. Wilder, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁵⁹ S. G. Wilder to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 18 November 1876, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

Printed circular, signed S. G. Wilder, Agent, Honolulu, 5 May 1873, Archives of Hawaii.

and 176 deck passengers from Honolulu to Hawaii on one trip.⁶⁰

There were no luxuries aboard *Kilauea*. Her cabin was hot and crowded, and the experienced traveller was likely to prefer to have his mattress on deck, even though he had paid cabin fare. One passenger wrote as follows of her departure from Honolulu:

"The wharf was one dense, well-compacted mass of natives taking leave of friends with much effusiveness, and this steamer's deck was crowded with them, till there was hardly room to move; men, women, and children, dogs, cats, mats, calabashes of *poi*, cocoanuts, bananas, dried fish, and every dusky individual of the throng was wreathed and garlanded with odorous and brilliant flowers. All were talking and laughing and an immense amount of gesticulation seems to emphasize and supplement speech. We steamed through the reef in the brief red twilight, over the golden tropic sea, keeping on the leeward side of the islands. Before it was quite dark the sleeping arrangements were made, and the deck and skylights were covered with mats and mattresses on which one hundred and seventy natives sat, slept, or smoked . . ."⁶¹

Below decks there were no such things as separate state-rooms. The cockroaches aboard *Kilauea* were famous for their size and agility. The traveller quoted above wrote of her first night aboard, "The grotesqueness of the arrangements of the berths and their occupants grew on me during the night, and the climax was put upon it when a gentleman coming down early in the morning asked me whether I knew I was using the Governor of Maui's head for a footstool . . ."⁶² Everyone expected to be seasick on the inter-island voyages but they seem to have been enjoyed, nevertheless.

In 1873, one of the Hawaiian newspapers urged that awnings be provided on *Kilauea* to protect her deck passengers from rain and spray. At that time there was evidently no protection on deck whatever.⁶³

Kilauea was a factor in Hawaiian politics. When David Kalakaua and Queen Emma were rival candidates for the Hawaiian throne in 1874, Samuel Wilder made an extended tour of the islands in her, gathering up members of the legislature. By the time they reached Honolulu, Mrs. Wilder reported that they were enthusiastic supporters of Kalakaua due to her husband's speeches.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 28 August 1874.

⁶¹ Isabella Bird Bishop, *Six months among the palm groves, coral reefs, and volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands*, 1st American ed., New York, 1894, pp. 37-38.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶³ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 15 September 1873.

⁶⁴ Wilder, *Memoirs*, pp. 158-159.

During her long career, it was said that *Kilauea* had been ashore on every reef in the Hawaiian Islands. This was not true, but she did leave pieces of her keel on a remarkably large number of reefs, and the fact that she came successfully through so many years of pioneer voyaging in the islands is tribute to her builders, and to the skill of her skippers. Her most serious experience was in January 1866, when, due to a miscalculation, she ran over the reef at Kawaihae and lay in eight feet of water inside the reef. Two gales drove her still farther in shore, and yet she was buoyed back over the reef, temporary repairs completed, and she limped back to Honolulu early in April.⁶⁵

The *Kilauea* was not quite alone in the inter-island trade in the 'sixties. On 25 June 1862, the 80 ton steam schooner *Annie Laurie* was launched at Honolulu. She had been altered from the coasting schooner *Kalama* under W. L. Green's supervision, and the Honolulu Iron Works had constructed her engine and boiler. Although intended for the Kauai route, she took *Kilauea's* place on the Hawaii run when that worthy steamer was laid up for overhaul and repairs in 1862, 1863, and 1864. In 1862, *Annie Laurie's* owners agreed to pay the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. \$5 a trip for the privilege of operating on *Kilauea's* route, and were to receive any profits or take any losses accruing from the trips. This was to give the government and other Hawaiian Steam Navigation Co. stockholders a chance to determine whether it was wise to buy *Annie Laurie*, or to unite her owners into the company as had been proposed.⁶⁶ Evidently this did not materialize, for in 1864, the little steam schooner was again running temporarily in *Kilauea's* place by permission of the latter's owners.⁶⁷

On 23 September 1865, *Annie Laurie* touched bottom while entering port, and her composition stern post and rudder carried away. She had been too small to operate profitably under steam, and when she was repaired, her engines were removed, and thereafter she reverted to sail only.⁶⁸

The year 1877 marked the opening of a new era in Hawaiian inter-island service. The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States of the previous year had given additional energy to the economic life of the Hawaiian Kingdom. From a largely subsistence economy that of an exportable staple crop quickly devel-

⁶⁵ *Hawaiian Annual*, 1889, p. 76.

⁶⁶ Janion, Green, and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 13 October 1862, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁶⁷ Janion, Green, and Co. to Minister of Interior, Honolulu, 22 June 1864, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁶⁸ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 30 September 1865.

Hawaiian Annual, 1889, p. 75.

About January, 1866, she went ashore at Koloa, Kauai, and became a total loss.

oped. The trade of the islands flourished, and this was reflected in the improvement of inter-island transportation.

The new era in inter-island steam navigation was marked by the arrival of a steamer to take the place of the veteran *Kilauea*. Repair and maintenance cost for the old steamer had been high since the government began to operate her, and Wilder repeatedly urged the wisdom of building a new vessel to take her place. He was finally successful, and the new steamer arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco, where she had been built, on 14 August 1877. She was named *Likeliike*, in honor of the Princess Miriam Likeliike Cleghorn, who had been her sponsor, and who returned from the coast in the new vessel.

When *Likeliike* steamed into Honolulu Harbor with the royal standard flying at the fore, she was saluted by the battery on Punchbowl, and met an enthusiastic reception. Her tonnage of nearly 600 compared favorably with *Kilauea's* 399, and her passenger quarters were described as light and airy, roomy and handsome, forming a distinct improvement over her predecessor.⁶⁹

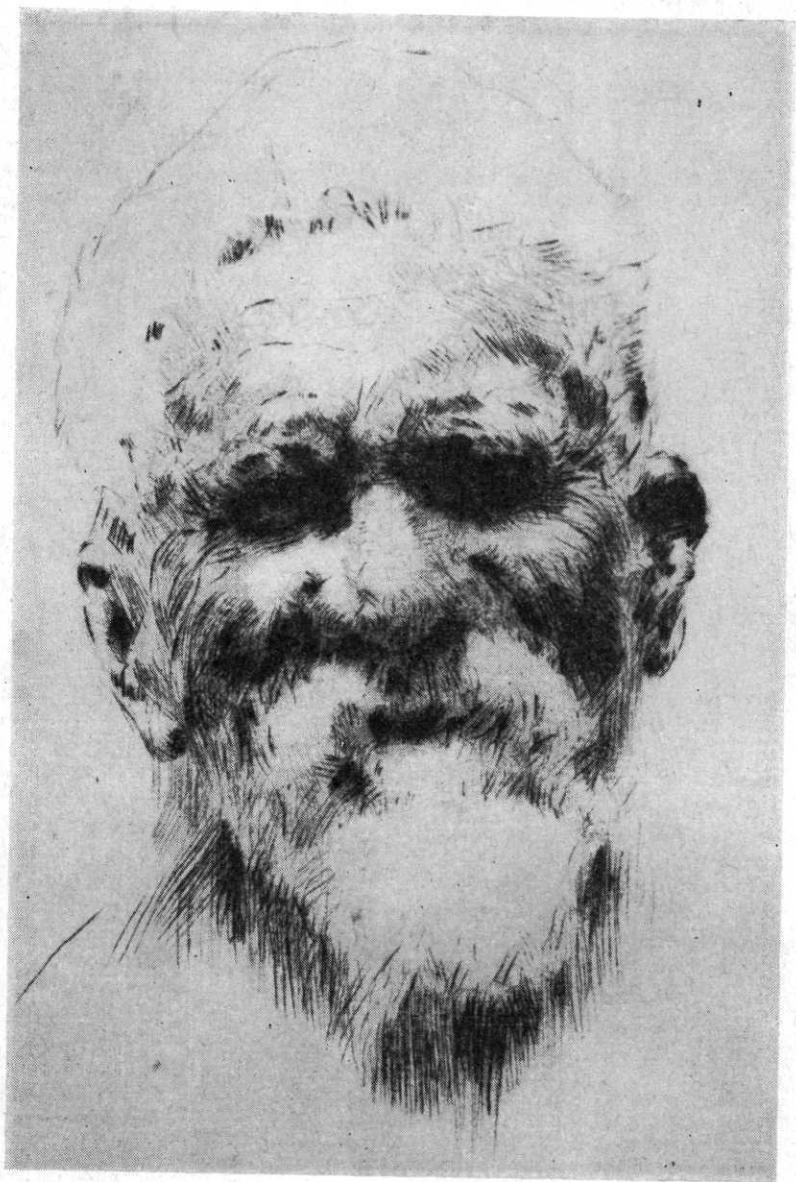
Likeliike's arrival marked a change in the ownership of inter-island steamers. She came as a government-owned vessel, and as such sailed on her first voyage to Nawiliwili, Kauai, on 17 August 1877. Four days later, however, there was an official advertisement in the Honolulu newspapers, signed by the Minister of Interior, offering *Likeliike* and *Kilauea* for sale to the highest bidder. No offer of less than \$97,000 for the new ship, and \$5,000 for *Kilauea* would be considered, these amounts representing the cost of *Likeliike*, and the current valuation of the old vessel. Bidders also had to agree to keep the new ship in Hawaiian waters, and to operate her under a government mail contract. Wilder was the only bidder, offering the minimum prices stipulated, and his offer was therefore accepted when the bids were opened on 6 September.⁷⁰ The sale of the steamers meant that inter-island trade was vigorous enough to support itself without government aid. From this time, steamers multiplied in Hawaiian waters, reflecting the expanding economic life of the kingdom.

⁶⁹ *Likeliike* (I) wooden, screw steamer. Built by Dickey Bros., San Francisco, 1877. 592 tons. 2 decks. Draft 13 ft. Hull of Oregon pine, oak trimmings, copper and galvanized iron fastenings. Compound engine built by Risdon Iron Works, San Francisco, 40 in. and 21 in., x 34 in. Diameter of bronze screw 10 ft., 4 in. Boiler 11 ft., 6 in. x 12 ft., 6 in. Made 11 knots on trials at San Francisco 2 August 1877.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 18 August 1877.

Bureau Veritas Survey, 27 January 1883, Harbor Master's Records, Honolulu, 1881-1894, ms., Archives of Hawaii.

⁷⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 1, 8 September 1877.



KAHUNA LAPAAU—*Etching by John Kelly*

Medical Art in Ancient Hawaii

By NILS P. LARSEN, M.D.

The knowledge of Old Hawaiian medical lore has been buried under a pile of Anglo-Saxon prejudice and pompousness, the usual trimmings of the superiority complex. Therefore our paper will be based on broken and forgotten fragments. From these we will try to construct the colorful and amazing mozaic which we believe approaches the truth.

In old Hawaii in each community there was a group of experts known as kahunas. In their political system these kahunas were an important group. They were the top men in the special fields of endeavor. They were the "intelligentsia." These kahunas, or experts, were found in every field of endeavor. Most of their specialties are recognized today either in the trades or in the professions—from doctors to dancers—from priests to pretenders. Yet in Hawaii today the word kahuna is usually associated with black magic. The kahuna who practised this in the old days was known as the Kahuna 'Ana'ana, but he was merely the specialist in black magic and was considered a "low brow." He, however, is the one remembered today, while the high class kahuna has been forgotten. In "Kahuna Tales from Hawaii", D. J. Whitney says: "From what I have been saying, it might be assumed that all there was and is to kahunaism is mental suggestion and trickery, but that is not so. The ancient high class kahuna was a man whose training lasted from early childhood to full maturity. They were priests, physicians, scientists, skilled artisans, and had all the mental and physical training that could possibly be secured. They were of all grades and qualities. . . . Today we use the term kahuna abusively because of our ignorance of the functions and work of the kahuna and what he meant to the Hawaiians of former years."¹ A few notes and quotations from the literature available will illustrate the usual attitude.

An "Anecdote of John Young", from the *Hawaiian Annual* of 1878, relates how a kahuna tried to pray John Young to death and built a prayer hut for this purpose. But Young built a hut opposite the kahuna's and said he was going to pray him to death instead. The kahuna was so frightened that he was the one who died, and no kahuna ever tried to work on John Young again. (This was prior to 1800.)²

¹ D. J. Whitney, "Kahuna Tales from Hawaii," *Paradise of Pacific*, May, 1930, pp. 4-9.

² Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual*, 1878, p. 33.

William Ellis wrote of the Polynesians in 1821, "Numerous ceremonies were connected with every remedy applied; and much greater dependence was placed on the . . . prayers than on the effect of the medicine. . . . However great the influence of those persons who administered medicine, or practised surgery, might formerly have been, it has entirely ceased since the people have been acquainted with the more certain and efficacious application of English remedies."³ (A perfect example of faith, when we realize that today anyone using these "certain and efficacious methods" could be sued for incompetence.) He also described how Hawaiians killed anyone who was sick too long, burying them alive, or doing away with them in some other manner for their property. Emphasis was placed on their former cruelty in contrast with Christian charity which they were then being taught.

From "Ancient Practices of Kahunaism, A Hawaiian's Exposure some Seventy Years Ago" (1930) we read: "They are all given up to deceit and some of their doings are based on lies and deception. . . . Let us examine first some ancient practices of Hawaiian priests, all of which are based on deception, not one is based on truth."⁴

From "Idolatry Among Hawaiians", an article in *The Friend* for 1889: "In the nature of things it would be impossible that the ancient religious belief and practices of any people could be extirpated at once."⁵ The necessity is stressed for continuing with evangelistic work even among those Hawaiians who seem on the surface to be converted.

Another article on "Idolatry Among Hawaiians", written in 1888, states that about 1861, Kamehameha V issued more than 300 printed licenses to as many native medicine men, with schedules of prices for their services to the sick. While these men employed some native herbs and a few foreign drugs, their art was mainly that of the sorcerer. The corrupt legislature of 1886 organized a "Hawaiian Board of Health", really a board of kahuna sorcery. The *Hale-nau-a* Society was designed to entangle the whole Hawaiian people in the toils of pagan practices. Many of the formalities practiced in the latter society are reported to have been of an unspeakable nature, being characteristic of the usual bestiality of paganism.⁶

Quoting from "Native Testimony to the Prevalance of Idolatry" in *The Friend* for 1889: "The fact has not unfrequently been reported to us of certain Hawaiian pastors permitting the employment of kahunas with their enchantments for sick mem-

³ Wm. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (London, 1853), v. 3, pp. 36-52.

⁴ Thrum, *Hawaiian Annual*, 1930, pp. 106-110.

⁵ *The Friend*, October 1889, p. 79.

⁶ *The Friend*, July 1888, p. 53.

bers of their families and even of such a pastor himself being attended in his last sickness by a kahuna with his idolatrous arts."⁷

James Bicknell, in "Hawaiian Kahunas and Their Practices", published in *The Friend* for September 1890, says: "Kahunas are centers of influence and they do a vast amount of mischief in inciting the people to maintain allegiance to the *aumakua*s (Gods). Kahuna medical practice is based upon these beliefs: 1. That sickness is caused either by demoniacal possession or by disease. 2. That the spirits possess people of their own will, or are commissioned to do so by ill disposed kahunas. 3. That cases of possession are always curable through the use of charms under the direction of kahunas. 4. That cases of actual disease, being dependent upon the use of medicine, recovery is not always certain."⁸

"The Lanai Horror", an article in *The Friend* for July, 1892, describes a series of atrocities committed by the sorceress Pulolo at Awalua on the island of Lanai. "There is reason to believe that such murders constitute no small percentage of the causes of death that are swelling the immense mortality among Hawaiians. . . . The kahuna domination paralyzes the efforts of our skilled physicians to heal the people. The government employs physicians at great expense, but most of the people are prevented from obeying their prescriptions by the orders of the exorcisers to whose violent and destructive treatment they timidly submit. . . . The kahuna is the deadly enemy of Christianity and civilization. . . . They cannot think reasonably nor entertain sound opinions."⁹

J. S. Emerson, in "Selections from a Kahuna's Book of Prayer," discusses prayers seeking to cause the death of a person or asking protection against such a practice by others, and the various kinds of deaths that can be caused by prayer.¹⁰

As late as 1924, Palmer writes, in discussing the law of Kamehameha V licensing kahunas: "And then every missionary in every village had a kahuna combating him."¹¹

And yet, David Malo, the first Hawaiian to learn to write, even when influenced by the severe prejudice of his white teachers, wrote of the old Hawaiians: "From the most ancient times religious Kings have always been greatly esteemed—not one of the Kings who subjugated under his rule an entire island has been irreligious; every one of them has worshipped the gods

⁷ *The Friend*, May 1889, pp. 34-35.

⁸ *The Friend*, September 1890, pp. 66-67.

⁹ *The Friend*, July 1892, pp. 49-50.

¹⁰ Emerson, J. S., "Selections from a Kahuna's Book of Prayers." Hawaiian Historical Society 26th Annual Report, 1917, pp. 17-39.

¹¹ Palmer, A. W., *The Human Side of Hawaii* (Boston, Pilgrim Press [c1924]), p. 46.

with faith and sincerity. . . . The people had a strong conviction that if a King was devout his government would abide. . . . The Kalaimoku impressed upon the king to protect the property of the chiefs as well as that of the common people; not to rob them, not to appropriate wantonly the crops of the common people." (In this age that sounds almost like "the second coming".) "The alii who lived an honest life had great authority merely because he was right.

"The King was over all the people; he was the supreme executive, so long, however, as he did right."¹²

And of the education of chiefs he says:

"The young man had first to be subject to another chief, that he might be disciplined and have experience of poverty, hunger, want and hardship, and by reflecting on these things learn to care for the people with gentleness and patience, with a feeling of sympathy for the common people, and at the same time to pay due respect to the ceremonies of religion and the worship of the gods, to live temperately, not violating virgins, conducting the government kindly to all."^{12a}

I believe the Hawaiian conscience would have been seriously troubled by a breach of the duties of hospitality.

"The following actions were considered worthy of approbation, to live thriftily, not to be a vagabond, not to keep changing wives, not to be always shifting from one chief to another, not to run in debt—to bring up his children properly, to deal squarely with his neighbors and his landlord, etc."¹³ (Anyone suggesting such Christian behavior today in any Christian country would be sharply wisecracked with an "Oh, be realistic.")

In that society when a man was sick Malo says: "When anyone was seized with an illness, a messenger was dispatched to the kahuna who practised medicine, the kahuna *lapa'au*".¹⁴ This kahuna, who is in no way related to the black magic kahuna (Kahuna 'Ana'ana) today is seldom mentioned. He represented the highest form of healing. He was especially chosen because of aptitude and kindly temperament. He started his training at the age of five, as did all kahunas. He would live in the house of a *Kahuna lapa'au*, who might or might not be his father, and learn about the medicinal herbs, their value and effect on the body, where they grew, how to gather and prepare them. Undoubtedly experimentation over many years lay behind the Hawaiian knowledge of the physiological effects of some 300 different listed plants. That the effects of many were striking one can prove by merely trying them. The uses as given by one

¹² Malo, David, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu, 1903) p. 252.

^{12a} *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

kahuna were not necessarily accepted in their entirety by all other kahunas. Each varied his pharmacopeia according to his experience, and each kept his own secrets. Just before he died, the kahuna would call in his favorite pupils and give them the choice observations he had kept from the others.

In a book published in 1824 in America we find many examples of the weird herb mixtures used at that time. For instance there are directions for making the universal pill: "Take one armful of thorough wort, one peck of white ash bark, one armfull of celedyne, one-half bushel of butternut bark, four pounds of sweet elder bark, four pounds of dog mackimus, six pounds of sarsaparilla, four large wake-robins, one pound of bloodroot, two pounds of balsam bark, two handfulls of jill by the ground, one peck of burdock roots, two armfulls of arsmatt, one peck of cuckoo-ash, one pound of snake root, two pounds of spruce bark, one peck of tamarack bark. Boil these separately . . ."¹⁵ Three paragraphs follow on how to prepare the pills and the many disorders that they will cure. That was American therapy in 1824. Although some Hawaiian kahunas made use of weird concoctions an outstanding fact was their knowledge of the physiological effect of single herbs.

In this medical lore of a "primitive people" we find many amazing things. In the first place autopsies were performed to find out why a person died. The organs must have been frequently looked at, for many bodies were opened, the organs removed, and salt put into the cavities for preservation. The story of Cook's death indicates that all the organs were immediately removed. It is known that the highest chiefs, when they died, were always cut open and the bones stripped of flesh. After the bones were cleaned, they were put in a sack of tapa and placed in the burial cave. The flesh was burned or buried in the sea. The *Kahuna Kuni* opened the body in a certain way to remove the liver.

The kahunas knew about the "pulsing heart"; they knew that life ceased when the heart stopped. They also knew that the head controlled the body and the limbs. They spoke of the swaying bowel and the stationary bowel. Diseases were classified into those which responded to herbs, diet, and elimination, and those caused by spirit power which could only be relieved through the spirit. On the other hand, physical aches and pains were recognized aside from disease conditions and physiotherapy was a specialty. Their use of massage and heat was excellent. It was also recognized that years of training were necessary to learn the healing art, and that those who practised medicine without such definite training were pretenders.

¹⁵ Monroe, John, *The American Botanist and Family Physician*. Compiled by Jonathan Morrison Wheelock & Co., 1824, p. 56.

The finest and most highly regarded of the kahunas were the *Kahuna Lapa'au* and the *Kahuna Ha-ha*. They sat at the King's Council. Occasionally someone would train in both these fields and would be an expert diagnostician as well as an expert therapist.

Koa Barke
 Hoole — Kahuna
 Lapa'au i Honolulu
 & Kauhawahi, & L. Kama
 O ka Matakahi
 1868
 Kahuna Lapa'au Hawaii —
 Humana a
 Makena na Kauhawahi
 iat mai iaia, no mai hoi iaia
 Kauhawahi, lilo ai au
 i Kahuna Lapa'au ana he ano
 Kahuna

PAGE 1 FROM OLD KAHUNA BOOK, WRITTEN BY A KAHUNA
 LAPAAU AND A KAHUNA HAHU

An old book written in longhand in 1868 by two kahunas who were both *Kahuna Ha-ha* and *Kahuna Lapa'au* recently came into my hands. The book had never before been translated. The knowledge of the great *Kua'ua'u* was demanded by the king. No one but a king would have presumed to make such a request, and for a king to do so was against all precedent, since kahuna knowledge was, by tradition, transmitted only from father to son or trusted student and never written. The two authors were the only ones known to have the knowledge—hence the book.¹⁶

One of the indicators of social or academic progress in any community is found in the science or art called medicine. I have

¹⁶ Ms. book in Hawaiian, in the possession of the author.

tried to analyze, from the doctor's viewpoint, the medical art of the old Hawaiians as set forth in this book. We cannot of course compare medical practice of today, with its many diagnostic and therapeutic aids from roentgenology, chemistry, immunology, bacteriology, and so forth, with the practice of Hawaiian kahunas. It is more fair to compare their practice with European medicine of that time. Going back seventy-five or more years ago we find European doctors believing firmly that there was some chemical or herb remedy for every ailment, and we find strange mixtures of everything, from the dung of animals to the bark of trees. There were alleged positive cures for every known disease, and even the greatest of European authorities believed in their efficacy with the conviction of an evangelist. Our early missionary doctors undoubtedly had as much faith in their prayers as in their drugs.

From the times of the Ebert Papyrus (1500 B.C.) through the time covered by Sydenham's voluminous and erudite dissertation (1650) and up to our present time of a multiplicity of patent medicines, all manner of concoctions have been tried with reports of "positive cures". The more intelligent Hawaiians apparently were getting away from superstition and blind belief, were making accurate observations, and from these definite deductions about disease and its cure, at the time of the arrival of the white man. They experimented on the deductions made, using animals to test their theories. They recommended autopsies to discover their errors, and admitted that in many diseases they failed to cure or even alleviate.

Only recently and for the first time in the history of medicine we have developed substances which can directly overcome bacterial infections. Beginning with the sulfa drugs, and that was a dramatic advance in chemo-therapy, then penicillin and other fungus extracts were developed. It was then found that garlic, extracts of yeast cells as well as the chlorophyll of leaves have very powerful effects on inhibiting the growth of bacteria. In the light of this work we look back at the Hawaiians putting the green leaves and other vegetable substances on wounds as now quite sound.

The most brilliant chemical attempt prior to these recent discoveries was Ehrlich's work on the arsenic preparations. That was an attempt to develop a chemical that would kill the germ of syphilis but not the patient. After his whole staff of expert chemists had prepared 914 new and powerful preparations, each one tested for its efficacy, he thought he had succeeded. Then, after years of trial, no less an authority than the late Dr. Warthin said, "it is doubtful if syphilis is ever cured".¹⁷ He had been able to demonstrate the germs in the heart muscles of many

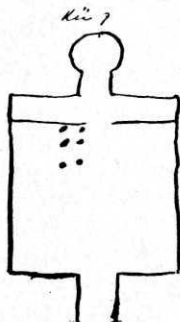
¹⁷ Dr. A. Warthin, lecture given at Honolulu, 1936.

patients who were supposed to have been cured. Now it is found that the extract of a common mold that has always been about us apparently is more successful in curing this disease than the result of this most extensive of all chemical experiments. It behooves us to be less pompous and less positive about all knowledge. Perhaps these so called primitive races were keener observers than we have thought. Hawaiian herb lore was well developed.

But let the old kahuna tell his own story as it was recorded at a time before European doctors used either logic or experimentation in medicine. The missionary doctors, who prayed to God for guidance, and depended on bleeding, calomel, and sulphur, naturally did not take an interest in the "heathen" practitioners. Practically nothing that was considered good medical practice by the missionary doctors is accepted today, but much that the kahunas did is still logical.

Papahūhūhū

Ho māi glo kua, a he māi
Maka i kua, māi lili'ona
e like me kua kii



Ho mana i ka aro o kōlo, Malaila e lea ai
na lea o kua māi, mo ka fōlōlō loa
a fela ma ka aro o kōlo, oia kōi ka fū
Kamēhāmeha a ma na fū e ae

TYPICAL PAGE FROM KAHUNA BOOK SHOWING DIAGRAM OF
THE BODY AND ACCOMPANYING DESCRIPTION
OF A DISEASE

The book of the two kahunas consists of a series of case reports each illustrated by a diagram of the human form. The case reports are supposed to have been of *Kua'ua'u*, as he handed them down to his students. This would place the date of the cases and the methods before 1800. All the cases will not be translated, but some of the unusual ones will be given.

On page fifteen is a dissertation on a disease called "*papaki'ipi'i*", suffered by a *Kahuna Lapa'au* named *Pi'ipi'i*. As he was dying he left orders to his four sons that, since he did not know the nature of his disease, he wanted them to cut him open after his death and determine the cause. His sons did this, and found that he was suffering from massive accumulations in the large (stationary) bowel. The second order he left was that after they had found the cause they were to go out and find the remedy. After due consideration they developed a bamboo syringe with a large hollow shaft and a small hollow piece of bamboo on either end. The theory of this was to insert one small end into the rectum and blow on the other end, thus injecting the contents of the syringe forcibly into the bowel of the recipient. They found a constipated dog and tried this remedy, using salt water. To their great joy, it worked. Not being satisfied with their one experiment, they journeyed to the woods, and alongside of a waterfall—apparently to get a sufficient supply of water—they tried the experiment on a second dog, with the same beneficial results. Thus they came to the conclusion that washing the bowel in this manner is the only remedy for the disease known as "*papaki'ipi'i*." The number of times that this procedure is to be performed on each patient varies according to results, and must be regulated by the kahuna.

We conclude that the Hawaiian doctor not only tried to reason things out logically, but performed autopsies to check his reasoning and to look for other causes of symptoms. After finding unexpected pathology, he reasoned from the observations as to how to overcome the difficulty. He used the dog as an experimental animal to determine whether his reasoning was sound before trying the new therapeutic agent on a human. One experiment was not considered conclusive enough so he repeated it on a second animal. This might well be a page from one of our modern medical research publications.

In the disease called "*Wai'opua*" mentioned on page 35, the method of approach is different. The patient is questioned as to symptoms:

Q. Have you any discharges? A. Yes, terribly foul discharge.

Q. Do you feel dizzy? A. Yes.

Q. Do you have pain in the body? A. Yes. Often pain like

a spear through to the back, but at times the pain and the dizziness go away.

Q. How do you feel in the pelvis? Do you feel very heavy in the pelvis and are your knees very weak? A. It is so painful I could not step.¹⁸

If that is the clinical history, the diagnosis is "*wai'opua*." The kahuna explains that the symptoms occasionally disappear because the first symptoms are produced when the womb is turned up and the second symptoms when it is turned down. It is recommended that a certain number of herbs be administered, followed by a douche. For this the hips were raised very high, and with a cocoanut cup the patient could administer the douche herself. The water was made of a turbid white mixture of water and kukui nut known as "*waikea*."

Here we see the method of evaluating a succession of symptoms by direct questioning—recognizing in certain diseases an association of various symptoms and giving anatomical causes to explain variations in symptoms. Evidently by palpation the kahunas had learned that sometimes the womb was forward and sometimes backward. The use of a vaginal douche is not usually considered as part of primitive medicine.

On page 51 is a discussion of "*pehuholoku*" (dropsy). It begins with the statement that this disease ends in death, the writer commenting that those who say they can cure this disease are merely "braggart" kahunas, because "when the disease is suffered by a man and is generalized, then no kahuna can cure the disease and this patient will die." The dissertation explains that there are many kinds of dropsy and then goes on to describe five different types. These can be recognized as known types today. The language, however, is pictorial—as for instance the "cocoanut tree type" which we interpret as the swollen head type. The "kauila tree type" we interpret as the swollen leg type since the legs of these patients look very much like the shiny smooth trunk of a kauila tree. In concluding the case report, the kahuna states that he does not believe that any one of these types can be cured, and that any kahuna who says he can cure them is lying. He knows of seventeen varieties of medicine that have been tried, but none of them has proven of real value. After fifty years of intensive chemical, bacterial and pathological study we still have to conclude much the same.

This case report shows a careful analysis of the symptoms of disease and a description of variations of the same disease. It shows also the experimental approach to curing disease, and the honest acknowledgment that the many attempts have all proven valueless. There is also an attempt at a therapeutic test for diagnosis and prognosis. It is further recognized that diet may help

¹⁸ Ms. book in Hawaiian, in the possession of the author.

in curing disease: a low salt, low protein, low liquid and alkaline residue diet with the use of physics, as given in this disease by the Hawaiians, has been held by many modern professors as good therapy for edema (dropsy). But the sincerity of admitting failure seems even beyond the modern. How recently we ourselves were afraid to admit to patients that we ever failed, and even used Latin formulae to befuddle them and impress them with our omnipotent knowledge.

Translated literally, the final page of the book reads as follows: "This is the explanation of all the great diseases, written and translated by *Keaweamahi* and *Kawa'a*. . . . In this book you will find most of the diseases that kill and a few that can be cured. There you will see the cleverness of the *Kahuna-Ha-ha* of the old days."

"Thus all these disease of man as shown herein are no good for the *Kahuna 'Ana'ana* or the *Kahuna Ho'opi'opi'o* and also no good for the *Kahuna Lapa'au* who is not also a *Ha-ha*. . . . Only those kahunas who were taught to diagnose are the ones who should practice on the diseases as written in this book, and they are the kind that you all may know. Written by your obedient servants *Kahuna Haha Keaweamahi* and *Kahuna Haha Kawa'a*."

This final dissertation has a familiar ring when we consider the advice so frequently given by an expert in any one of our fields of medicine warning all other doctors that unless they have special knowledge in that particular field it would be very dangerous for them to undertake the case of such diseases.

In the *Kahuna Lapa'au's* book there is no indication of a belief that drugs are magical. He uses them in the modern sense to produce certain physiological reactions. He frankly admits that certain things he cannot correct. There are many herbs, often several different ones, that can produce the same physiological effect, and thus help to overcome distressing symptoms. The best of the old *Kahuna Lapa'au* seemed to appreciate this in a way for which they have not received due credit.

The *Kahuna Ha-Ha* mentioned was the diagnostician. Many today would no doubt like to call our diagnosticians by the same name. The *Kahuna Ha-ha* was trained to feel a patient to determine what was wrong. His training began by feeling stones. Until with a blindfold he could tell by light touch the different hardnesses of stones, he was not a good pupil. Gradually he trained his fingers to note any abnormal swellings or rigidities and thus tried to evaluate what was wrong. If he thought the ailment could be cured by some herb, he would send the patient to the *Kahuna Lapa'au*. If he found nothing, he would send him to the *Kahuna Nui*, the highest of the priests, saying that

there must be something wrong with the spirit for he could find nothing wrong with the body.

Another called the *Kahuna Lena* was the "snap-shot" diagnostician of the old days. He diagnosed by merely looking. We have plenty of these today.

The *Kahuna Ho'ohanau* was the equivalent of our modern obstetrician. He would be called to a mother with difficulty in labor. He could help her so she would have less pain. He could adjust a child if it failed to make progress. Mr. Wise¹⁹ tells a story about a *Kahuna Ho'ohanau* who transferred all the woman's pain to her husband. Be that as it may, the kahunas recognized that women in labor might need expert attention, and tried to relieve their pain—this at a time when our ancestors were convinced that God was punishing Eve's sisters, and believed it wrong to interfere with His wishes. Mary Pukui²⁰ has recently written a very interesting (unpublished) account of the *Kahuna Palekeiki* (or midwife). Her grandfather, grandmother, eldest uncle and eleventh aunt were all experts (*kahunas*) in this art. She says:

"As far back as I can remember, birth was not a forbidden subject and was as frankly discussed in my presence as the weather. At nine years of age I helped my aunt by keeping up the fire for the necessary hot water for the mother-to-be to be washed in. In my childish enthusiasm I told a white neighbor next day that Mrs. D. 'had borned a boy baby.' The following day my mother was visited by a delegation of four white women who told her that it wasn't 'nice' for me to know of such things as birth.

"The diet of the mother was regulated from the fourth month on. She was encouraged to eat as much as she could of such greens as *popolo*, *luau*, etc., etc. These and other herbs were eaten 'that the herbs build up the body of the child.' Too much salty foods were not allowed, only a little raw fish and plenty of cooked fish. After the sixth month the mother-to-be was taught not to eat too much lest she have trouble at birth with too fat a baby. Any particular food she longed for was given to her.

"Every now and then the kahuna came to examine the mother-to-be. He passed his hand carefully over the abdomen to see if the baby was in the right position and if it was not he oiled his hands with *kukui* or cocoanut oil and set to work to manipulate it back into the correct position.

"Whatever one did at pregnancy affected the nature of the babe-to-be. If the father and mother were always busy and interested in their work, the baby would be industrious and if

¹⁹ John Wise, an Hawaiian teacher, in personal conversation.

²⁰ Ms. by Mary Kawena Pukui, Hawaiian Translator, Bishop Museum.

both were lazy, a loafer it would be. The mental attitude of the parents also affected its nature.

"Birth: For such an event many relatives gathered. It was the old social custom that the first born son should be reared by his paternal grandparents and the first born daughter by the maternal grandparents. If they were dead, then the nearest relative of the father or mother would take their places. Naturally, when the day of birth arrived, the relatives who were to assist came to carry out their duties." This is sound education. It has been found that the older the parents the more intelligent the child. Perhaps this is why so many of the last born children became the pride of the flock.

"If a woman had 'false' labor pain, and her time had not come, she was put to bed at once, and was made to rest and be very quiet. She was given warm food to eat until she felt better.

"The mother was encouraged to walk to and fro at the beginning of labor, and when the pain became more intense and pressed downward, the mother took a kneeling position with knees apart. A helper sat in the back or to hold her around the waist when she wanted to be held. . . . Screaming was considered disgraceful and no Hawaiian mother dared to scream unless she wanted to make herself the talk of the place. The kahuna in charge sat in front. Someone was sent to the beach quickly for the young leaves of the *pohuehue* or beach morning glory. The number of leaves varied with some kahunas, some eight, some sixteen, some twenty-four. The person who picked them began with the right hand with a prayer to *Ku* (the god of medicine) and with the left hand with a prayer to *Hina* (goddess of medicine). Perhaps four leaves in each hand, or eight, or whatever number the kahuna specified. These were not put together nor mixed up. Those picked with the right hand were given to the mother to eat, and those picked with the left were crushed and rubbed over the abdomen.

"The mother, after she had given birth was given warm broth and herbs to help her fill the empty feeling (*hakahaka*) and to expell the excessive blood. Different kahunas had their own choice of herbs. My people liked chicken or fish broth. Tea was made of the *kauna'oa*pehu or dodder vine, also of *ko'oko'olau*. Some put a poi pounder on the abdomen and gently worked it to and fro. If all the blood that should have been expelled was not, the mother would have a large abdomen called *'opu-ko'ala*. She looked as though she was pregnant all the time. If the placenta was not expelled when it should be, the kahuna pressed down on the navel of the mother with his thumb. The mother's abdomen was bound with tapa after she was washed clean with warm water. This binding was kept up until the discharges ceased to come.

"The attending kahuna examined the baby's body, hands, feet and head to see if there were anything that needed correction and to foretell what sort of a man or woman it would grow up to be. The newborn baby was oiled with kukui oil but not bathed until after the *piko* or umbilical cord dropped off. Immediately after it was delivered directly from the womb it was wrapped in a piece of tapa. The grandparent in charge of the baby had an important duty to perform and that was to suck the nose of the baby clean. Then the grandparent wound a clean piece of tapa around his finger (or just used his finger without the tapa) and stuck his finger into the mouth and gagged the baby just enough to disgorge any of the birth fluid that might have slipped down into its mouth. The eyes were wiped clean. To prevent the umbilical cord from being injured, a strip of soft tapa was wound around the waist, without tying or fastening in any way.

"There were no nursing kapus for children in general, but there were for the chiefs. A nursing mother was very careful of her diet and continued eating herbs, a little salt fish and much greens, as during pregnancy. The food she ate also went into the milk of her baby and the herbs she ate kept on 'building' the child."

This is an extremely sane, sensible, and modern concept of how to handle a pregnant woman and a new born baby.

There was little surgery, probably because the Hawaiians had as implements only shell, bamboo, stone knives and shark teeth. Maybe we can hardly blame them for not developing this modern specialty, and perhaps at that time it was not so important. However, in the Tonga Islands a chest operation for the removal of a barbed spear head, followed by postural drainage and the use of an oil dipped banana leaf as a drain is described by Mariner.²¹

Also the circumcision operation was described by Mary Pukui as follows: "The private parts (*Ma'i*) had very special care. Boys were prepared for circumcision from infancy. For a kahuna or chief to have an uncircumcised son was disgraceful. Only kahunas trained in the art performed circumcisions. At the age of seven or eight, the boy was ready. A sharp bamboo knife made from bamboo obtained at Hōmaika'ohe in Hamakua was used. This bamboo grove was planted by the god *Kane*, and the stalks were always used for circumcision. The Hawaiian kahuna slit the skin and let it contract of its own accord or gently pulled it back. To prevent injury the kahuna slipped

²¹ Martin, John, comp., *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands . . . arranged from . . . William Mariner*. (Edinburgh, 1827, 3rd ed.). Appendix, pp. xcvi-xcix.

over the penis a clean morning glory blossom which served as a protecting cap and helped it to heal."²²

As we try to interpret the kahuna system there are several things of unusual interest in this culture of a "primitive people."

As to harmful methods of treatment, such as the giving of severe physics in appendicitis, the use of too violent cathartics for various ailments, the immersing of patients in cold water when they had fever, etc.—these methods undoubtedly were used. We have only recently stopped immersing patients with typhoid in a tub of ice water. Undoubtedly for years we have abused the use of physics. Undoubtedly many times we operate when no relief is obtained and before a reasonable diagnosis has been made. Our sugar pills cannot possibly be as strong a psychic force as the beautiful and positive prayers of the *Kahuna Kahea* poetically calling for the disappearance of pain. To write an accurate history or an accurate account of anything, we should be an impersonal machine, but the human brain is not a machine. The color of every act depends entirely upon what is already within that recording mechanism. The behavior or thinking pattern is directed by the enthusiasms and the prejudices developed in the subconscious from the experiences of the years of living. Even David Malo shows how effectively his teachers had taught him to look with horror on much of Hawaiian culture. Few people will ever believe that there could be anything intelligent in the old "heathen culture." How can we develop more tolerance?

In payment, the person calling for the kahuna's aid would bring whatever he had—fish or taro, a calabash or a net or a mat—and deposit it at the kahuna's door. It was payment according to the ability of the one seeking aid. After seeing the patient and giving the remedies, the kahuna would leave. Most of the remedies were given with some relation to *five*—five times a day, or five at a time, for five times, to be repeated for five days. This use of five is probably also a rather keen observation when we think of the starfish with five points; the *Ouna* with five marks, many flowers with five petals, and even man with a head, two arms and two legs. It would seem rather logical to assume that if the great spirit behind it all used five so repeatedly it should have some meaning in healing. If at the end of five days the patient was not well, more presents were brought and the kahuna came again. He was always paid in advance.

We must conclude that the Hawaiian doctor reached a point of skill in analysis, thinking, and practice that was quite amazing for his time. We cannot but admire the fact that a stone implement people developed a logical system of medicine, actually quite scientific in its approach.

²² Ms. by Mary Kawena Pukui, Hawaiian Translator, Bishop Museum.



KAHUNA 'ANA'ANA.

Some of the evil *kahunas*—in no way related to the *Kahuna Lapa'au*, might be mentioned—to keep the record straight. For instance the *Kahuna Po'i'uhane* was the equivalent of our modern spiritualist. He believed in spiritual entities and believed he had proof of their existence. Mr. Emerson²³ translates *Po'i'uhane* to mean "the catcher of spirits." The Hawaiians believed that there were two spirits—one that kept the body warm and another could leave the body and go about the countryside while the patient slept. If the *kahuna* could catch this spirit he could bring discomfiture or even death to the victim. Intelligent people still sit in dark rooms waiting for a spirit to manifest itself. They tell of being in contact with forces that they do not understand, of seeing and hearing phenomena that cannot be weighed or measured.

Also there was the *Kahuna Ho'opunipuni*—but he was a straight pretender. He had no training and had taken no prescribed course covering years with an expert, as had the others. In our communities there are still the gullible who prefer a "*Kahuna Ho'opunipuni*" to a well trained "*Kahuna Lapa'au*", and who cannot see any difference as long as a name is prefixed with "Doctor."

And, at the bottom of the list of *kahunas* came the lowest of the low, chosen from a low family, the *Kahuna 'Ana'ana*. He did the mean work; he prayed people to death. For a consideration he would bring discomfiture or death to anyone's enemy. How like our modern gangster, who for a stated sum will undertake to "will" anyone into the next world! Most writers, not realizing the structure of Hawaiian society, have confused all of Hawaiian medical art with the practices of the *Kahuna 'Ana'ana*. Dr. Buck has recently written an excellent summary of the various types of sorcery as practised in different parts of Polynesia. He says: "Sorcery was condemned by the general public but individuals resorted to sorcerers to gratify hates and jealousies."²⁴ Dr. Cannon, a world-famous authority in the sympathetic nervous system, during a visit to Hawaii, after reviewing the methods of the *Kahuna 'Ana'ana*, expressed the feeling that with our present knowledge of the sympathetic nervous system we could scientifically explain "*kahuna*" deaths, for it is known that people can die through fear and the conviction of approaching death. The art of the *Kahuna 'Ana'ana* had a place in Hawaiian medicine, but I doubt if it had the dominant place usually given it.

Throughout this paper it has been evident that the writer

²³ J. S. Emerson, "Selections from a *Kahuna's* Book of Prayers," *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*, 1917, p. 19.

²⁴ Dr. Peter Buck, *Regional Diversity in the Elaboration Sorcery in Polynesia*. Paper read before the Social Science Association, Honolulu.

wishes to prejudice the reader in favor of the Hawaiian doctor. This has been done consciously in an attempt to overcome some of the belittling and one-sided information that is usually heard regarding the Hawaiian doctor. However, in obtaining information I tried hard to ask no leading questions and to record actual facts. The cases mentioned are actual cases written out from the teachings of a famous old kahuna who had probably never contacted anyone with a knowledge of European medicine. Some of the outstanding practices which we consider modern and not primitive I have verified from other sources. Although most records of early Hawaii are extremely prejudiced, and most present-day Hawaiians know nothing about old things, occasionally the record of a case, a statement, a saying, indicates that this fine stalwart race was, when the white man came, just developing a system of medicine that was built on observation, deduction, experimentation and clinical trial. This system was lost as their whole culture succumbed to the pompous tide of European conquest. The present paper is based on some forgotten fragments.

I admit freely that in picking my cases, I chose those which illustrate good logic and good method. At the same time I admit that there were undoubtedly many kahunas who used poor logic and no reasoning, but worked on the superstitions of their patients. Where is the medical profession, even today, where that comment would not be true? Some old kahunas reasoned well and tried to learn by accurate observation and experiment. That kahuna was the indicator of progress. He was the one who showed the best type of medical practice. The medical art in Hawaii had developed from a belief in God-given knowledge of herbs to a scientific approach based on the recognition and discarding of fear and superstition, the making of accurate observations and from these logical and sensible deductions, and a checking of the observations and reasoning with experimentation. The advent of the European stopped this progress. Today the remnant usually known is only a weird mixture of superstition, half knowledge and black magic.

The Medical Art of old Hawaii is a closed chapter, but it should not remain a forgotten chapter.

NEW LIGHT ON THE RE-DISCOVERY OF THE BONIN ISLANDS

By ROSS H. GAST

Contemporary historical accounts concerning the Bonins are inclined to credit England with the re-discovery of this interesting group by reason of Captain F. W. Beechey's visit in H.M.S. *Blossom* in 1827. In fact, it was on Beechey's authority that England based her representation for possession when Commodore Perry suggested the Bonins as a United States coaling station in 1853.

The Bonins comprise three clusters of islands. While Captain Beechey claimed the northern and central ones, he admits that re-discovery of the southern cluster (Haha Jima) was made by Captain Coffin, American whaler *Transit* in 1823.

However, there is now evidence that Captain Coffin did not make this visit until 1824, and, more important, *he also landed a watering party on the central islands as well, while on the same cruise!* The source is House Document 105, 23rd Congress, 2nd Session, which reports a summary of depositions taken by J. N. Reynolds in 1828 from various sea captains whom he called upon at the behest of Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of Navy. Reynolds says:

"In the year 1825, the *same captain, while on the same cruise*, discovered in latitude 27° N., longitude 141° 10' E., a high island, well wooded, from the west side of which he procured good turtle and wood." His landing place was probably the harbor later named Port Lloyd.

Indications that Captain Coffin may have also sailed far enough north to see the cluster of small islands called Parry's by Captain Beechey which represents the northern cluster of the Bonins, is seen in Reynolds' continuing statement on the American captain's testimony:

"Six leagues north of this he discovered a high lump of an island and many small ones near it and a dangerous reef extending from one island to another as far as latitude 28° N. These islands and this reef were not laid down on his charts. The navigation of the ocean around, and particularly north of this group is dangerous from an imperfect knowledge of it."

Actually, Captain Beechey is not too sure of his ground in his claiming of the Bonin Islands. In his "Voyage", he says of his landing on the largest of the group:

"By a board nailed against a tree, it appeared that the port had been entered in September, 1825, by an English ship named

the *Supply*, which I believe to be the first authenticated visit made to the place."

"Taking possession of uninhabited islands is now a mere matter of form; still I could not allow so fair an opportunity to escape, and declared them to be property of the British government by nailing a sheet of copper to a tree, with the necessary particulars engraved upon it. As the harbor had no name, I called it Port Lloyd, out of respect to the late Bishop of Oxford."

Comparing Reynolds' report of Captain Coffin's cruise in the Bonins, it is evident that the American captain landed at Port Lloyd or at least on Peel Island the same year that the English vessel *Supply* was there, and no doubt earlier in that year. According to the Reynolds' report, Captain Coffin landed in the southern group on September 12th, 1824, and in all probability had sailed from Bristol, his home port, in 1823. If his cruise was of the usual duration, he would have left the Western Pacific waters in the summer of 1825, while the *Supply* did not arrive until September, 1825. Accordingly, his re-discovery of the other islands of the Bonin group probably took place in the spring of 1825, following his wintering in the islands which were later given his name.

AN EXACT COPY OF PART OF "A REPORT OF J. N. REYNOLDS IN RELATION TO ISLANDS, REEFS AND SHOALS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN", MADE AT THE REQUEST OF SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY. THIS REPORT WAS SUBMITTED IN 1828, THOUGH IT APPEARS AS HOUSE DOCUMENT 105, 23rd CONGRESS, 2nd SESSION, 1835. (SERIAL No. 283)

"Bonin Islands here had a place on the charts for some time; but little, indeed nothing, was known of them except that the land had been reported in that neighborhood and some map maker put it down on his charts. They are regarded as new discoveries in Nantucket, made by Captain Coffin, Sept. 12, 1824, while he commanded the ship *Transit*, from Bristol."

There is a freshness in the account he gives of them that is really interesting; and he may with some justice claim the honor of the discovery, as they were not laid down on his charts. He found the group to consist of six islands, besides a number of large rocks and reefs.

Capt. Coffin sailed in the employ of Forbes, Kidd & Fisher, and, in honor of his employers, called two of the islands by

their names, the largest of which is four leagues in length. The one most southern of the group he called South Island, and the fourth, from the great number of pigeons on it, he named Pigeon Island. About four miles E.N.E. of South Island lie two round high islands, to which he gave no names. Fisher's Island lies S.S.E. to N.N.W. and Kidd Island, the most western of the group, lies S.E. from the N.W. part of Fisher's Island.

Between the last two mentioned islands there is a beautiful clear bay, two miles wide, and five miles up to the head. Capt. Coffin sailed up this bay about four miles, when he found a fine small bay where he anchored his ship and, as he remarks, there is some justice due one's self, called it Coffin's harbor. This harbor is sheltered from all winds except from W.S.W. and a vessel will ride with as much safety as Hampton Roads, with no current or swell.

Capt. Coffin took 50 tons of water on board, of the purest kind, with a supply of wood, both of these essential articles being in any abundance, and more easily procured than at any other place he was at.

The water in the bay was stored with a variety of fish and with plenty of choice lobsters, and the cabbage tree was found among the productions of the island so that any desirable quantity might easily be procured. Capt. Coffin did not discover any quadruped, reptile, or insect, not even an ant. The islands are covered with large, beautiful forest trees, but not a single mark, not even of a knife, could be traced upon any of them; nor did it appear that the footsteps of man had ever been imprinted on any of these islands.

For whale ships, or those bound from Canton to Port Jackson, or the Northwest Coast of America, they will furnish a valuable place of refreshment. They are about south of Sandown Point, on the Coast of Japan and the distance may be sailed in four days. The bay where Capt. Coffin anchored is in latitude $26^{\circ} 30'$ north, longitude 141° east.

In the year 1825, the same captain, while on the same cruise, discovered in latitude 27° north, longitude $141^{\circ} 10'$ east, a high island, well wooded, from the west side of which he procured good turtle and wood.

Six leagues north of this he discovered a high lump of an island and many small ones near it and a dangerous reef extending from one island to the other, as far as latitude 28° north. These islands and this reef were not laid down on his charts. The navigation of the ocean around, and particularly north of this group, is dangerous, from an imperfect knowledge of it.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING FEBRUARY 23, 1945

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in the Mabel Smyth Auditorium on February 23, 1945, at 7:30 P.M. Mr. J. T. Phillips, the President, presided and Miss Bernice Judd acted for Miss Maude Jones, the Recording Secretary, who was ill.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was waived because they had been printed in the Fifty-second Annual Report, recently distributed. Mr. Phillips read his report, which was approved by the members present and placed on file.

Since the treasurer, Mr. J. T. Waterhouse, was absent, his report was summarized by Miss Judd. As of February 22, 1945, the balance in the commercial account was \$406.77 and in the savings account it was \$2806.92. This large amount in the savings was the result of two Davies bonds having been called but a few days before. Since this report had not been audited, it was accepted subject to audit.

The reading of the Librarian's report was omitted because it will be printed in the next annual report.

In the absence of the Nominating Committee, Mr. Phillips presented their report, which recommended the following:

J. Garner Anthony,	President for one year
J. T. Phillips	} Trustees to serve for two years
Gregg Sinclair	
Maude Jones	

There being no other names suggested, the nominations were closed, the Acting Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot, and the above-named persons were duly elected.

The proposed amendment to the By-Laws suggesting that the number on the Board of Trustees be increased from six to nine was, at the recommendation of Mr. Phillips, not acted upon at this time. Mr. Phillips said that he had conferred with the incoming President on the matter and that they had agreed it should be placed in the hands of a special committee, who could review the By-Laws as a whole and make further needed changes. The revised By-Laws could then be submitted for action at the next business meeting of the Society.

The meeting was then addressed by Lt. Comdr. John H. Kemble on the subject of "Hawaiian communication steamers, 1852-1898". Comdr. Kemble, who was Assistant Professor of

History at Pomona College in civilian life, is an authority on Pacific maritime history. His paper dealing with inter-island steamers from their beginnings in these waters in 1852 until Annexation in 1898, proved to be very informative.

The second speaker was Lt. Comdr. Charles E. Peterson, whose topic was "Building Honolulu, pictorial notes on the early years". Comdr. Peterson, a practising architect before he entered the Navy, discussed the subject from a professional standpoint, using slides projected on a screen to illustrate his talk.

An expression of appreciation was shown the speakers when a vote of thanks was taken after each had finished. The Society also indicated a desire to print these papers, if they should be submitted to the Trustees for publication.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

BERNICE JUDD,
Acting Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

February 23, 1945

To the Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

The pressure of war work in the community has again limited the activities of the Society. The Trustees have held several meetings during the year, and the fifty-second annual report, for the year 1943, has recently been distributed to the members. The Trustees selected the "Lectures on Micronesia" by the Rev. L. H. Gulick, M.D., for inclusion in the report, a very timely and interesting selection.

Preliminary discussions have been held with the Chairman of the Trustees and the Librarian of the Library of Hawaii concerning a formal set of rules governing the use of the Society's collection and the proper safeguarding thereof.

I recommend that in the coming year an examination be made of the agreement with the Library of Hawaii, and that a plain interpretation of the rights of the Society be secured, for some obscurity exists.

It appears necessary that our By-Laws be reviewed, and I recommend that the Trustee appoint a special committee charged with this duty.

The Post-War plans of the Territorial Government are assuming form and the Legislature of 1945, now assembling, will undoubtedly approve a general plan, including a substantial addition to or a newly located building for the Archives of Hawaii. Our Trustees should interest themselves in this program.

Our past President, Professor R. S. Kuykendall, has devoted long hours and earnest attention to the establishment of the War Records Depository at the University of Hawaii. Our members should assist this work in every way possible, for the collection will provide an everlasting record of Hawaii's contribution to the war.

The year 1944 marks the centennial of the arrival in Hawaii of Robert Chrichton Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Hawaiian Kings from 1845 to his death on October 19th, 1865.

Wyllie was born at Hazelbank, Parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire, Scotland, on October 13, 1798, the second son of a farmer.

The records of the University of Glasgow show that he entered the University in 1810. Though he did not proceed to

a degree, the records state that he served as a surgeon in a vessel bound for the North Seas and that he was three times shipwrecked. From information supplied by the Secretary of the Chilean Historical Society it is definitely established that he was practising medicine at La Serena, Chile, in 1821. I am further informed by the Chilean Society that Wyllie practised his profession in Valparaiso and Santiago before he took up residence in La Serena, anciently known as Coquimbo, and not to be confused with the port of Coquimbo, which is situated a little to the south of the city of La Serena.

During his residence in Chile, and later in Mexico, he became interested in trading ventures. In 1824 he cruised from Mexico to India in a fifty-ton vessel named the Yacht *Daule*. Following a residence in Mazatlan he returned to London, where he was a member of the firm of Kyall, Wyllie & Co. He lived in Mayfair and belonged to the Reform Club. During this period he wrote an extensive pamphlet supporting the claims of the British holders of Mexican bonds. He was actively interested in Mexican mining ventures.

He arrived in Hawaii February 3rd, 1844, accompanying General Miller, who had been appointed Consul General for England to Hawaii and the Society Islands. They travelled overland from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan, Mexico, and took passage on the brig *Hazard*.

He served as Pro-consul during 1844 in Miller's absence in the Society Islands, and during this period assembled his "Notes on the Hawaiian Islands" which appeared in *The Friend* in 1844. The information contained in the "Notes" was widely reprinted and was extremely valuable in bringing practical and statistical information about Hawaii to the attention of the world.

In 1845 he was approached by G. P. Judd and asked to join the Cabinet of Kamehameha III as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He became an Hawaiian citizen and served faithfully and well until his death.

It can be said that it was Wyllie who placed the Hawaiian Kingdom in the rank of independent and sovereign states. He was indefatigable in his labors. He fostered the organization of the government, the establishment of regular courts of law, following the ground work laid by William Richards and G. P. Judd. He saw to it that the reports of the Ministers, court decisions, arbitration proceedings, etc., were printed and distributed to all nations. He was one of the organizers of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, and lent his aid to every endeavor to strengthen agricultural production. His pamphlet, *Complete*

instruction on the cultivation, preparation, and packing of tobacco . . . Translated by Mr. Wyllie . . . [Honolulu, n. p., 1857] was an attempt to interest production here. He revised the *Code of Etiquette* for the Hawaiian Court and insisted upon formal procedure in all official acts. He was the guide and mentor of the Kings of Hawaii and when he passed away he was buried with Royal Honors in the Royal Mausoleum. Every Hawaiian should revere his memory.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES TICE PHILLIPS,
President.

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 22, 1944 to February 22, 1945

INCOME

Balance in commercial account as of Feb. 22/44	\$ 609.97	
	478.25	
	6.75	\$1,094.97

DISBURSEMENTS

Dues California Historical Society, 1944 and 1945	\$ 20.00	
Dues Pacific Historical Review 1944 and 1945	8.00	
Dues Hawaiian Volcano Research Ass'n, two years	10.00	
Annual Report	489.50	
Bishop Trust Safe Deposit and Custodian Fee	4.80	
Printing, Postage, Envelopes, etc.	89.40	
17.50, 1.65, 15.25, 6.50, 9.00, 23.10, 8.40, 8.00		
Binding Magazines and Reports	66.50	
2.00, 15.00, 18.25, 28.85, 2.00		688.20
Balance in Commercial Account		406.77

ENDOWMENT FUND

Balance in Savings account as of Feb. 22/44	\$ 592.98	
Interest on Savings account	9.24	
Interest on Bond 2554, 607 U. S. Savings, Series G	12.50	
Dividends, P. G. & E. Stock	75.00	
Dividends, von Hamm Stock	77.20	
Interest on Davies Bond	40.00	
Davies Bond recalled	2,000.00	2,806.92

ASSETS

75 shares von Hamm-Young, Pref.	\$1,517.60	
50 shares Pacific Gas & Electric Pref.	1,506.95	
U. S. War Savings Bonds, Series G	500.00	
Cash in Commercial account	406.77	
Cash in Savings account	2,806.92	6,738.24

Audited and found correct.

D. W. ANDERSON,

Auditor.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. WATERHOUSE,

Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

1944-1945

The suggestion that was offered in the last report that the Hawaiian books should be repaired and rebound if they were to be saved for future use was taken up by the Board who authorized the Librarian to send those that needed it most to the coast bindery for repairs. Arrangements have been made with the Library of Hawaii for their being packed correctly as the books are now being sent by parcel post instead of by freight as formerly. Continuations were sent as usual this year to the bindery.

The library is being used regularly by some of our members and by some of the service men. The two service men who used it most last year have moved on, one to the Philippines with the 40th division and the other to officers' candidate school.

The books of the Society have been helpful in supplying information on the islands of the Pacific to the Army, Navy and Marine Corps besides many civilians. *The Caroline Islands* by Christian has been used a great deal as it is the best book on the Carolines to be had, while Safford's *Guam and its people* was in demand before the Marianas invasion. The old issues of *The Friend* have contributed many a sea tale that has been retold over the radio while the newspapers are constantly being consulted for facts about early shipping, Privy council reports, early building dedications, the marine hospital and other items of local interest.

This year there have been more inquiries for information, and for research to be done than any year since the war started. We had inquiries about Dr. Ford and Ford's Island, items on Mark Twain to be checked, a copy of the Post Office Act of 1850 was wanted, annual reports with information about John Young were bought; the dates of when the first steam engine was used in Hawaii, facts about the printing of the first stamps were requested and other information about early printing.

There have been requests for reports to fill out sets or separate copies have been bought for the specific information needed by a research worker.

Rules for the use of the Library are being formulated between the Library of Hawaii and the Historical Society. It will be helpful to the Librarians to have a uniform policy in regard to the use of the Library, as hitherto it has changed with the personnel of the Board.

Gifts received were *Bonin Islands' story* by Ross H. Gast and sent the Society by the author; *A Journal of Mrs. Andrew D. Colcord* from Miss Joanna Colcord; a book of his own *War Poems* by Lt. Silverman; Comdr. Morison sent us his *Historical notes on the Gilbert and Marshall Islands*; and publications from the University of Hawaii and the Bishop Museum. New books on Hawaii were bought as they came out as they are apt to go out of print so fast that it is often impossible to get these books after a year's time.

Respectfully submitted

VIOLET A. SILVERMAN,

Librarian

LIST OF MEMBERS

(Corrected to February, 1946)

HONORARY

Kuykendall, Professor Ralph S.

LIFE

Ashford, Marguerite K.	Midkiff, Frank E.
*Atherton, Frank C.	Phillips, Stephen W.
Beckwith, Martha W.	Robinson, Mark A.
Cooke, Mrs. Maude B.	Spaulding, Thomas M.
Damon, Ethel M.	Von Holt, Mrs. Elizabeth V.
Frear, Mrs. Mary Dillingham	Westervelt, Andrew C.
Frear, Walter F.	Wilcox, Gaylord P.

ANNUAL

Ahrens, Wilhelmina I.	Blom, Irving
Ai, C. K.	Bond, B. Howell
Akee, Vernon	Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding
Alexander, Arthur C.	Bowen, Mrs. Ethel
Alexander, Mary C.	Boyer, Frank O.
Alan, Mrs. Betty	Bradley, Harold W.
Alan, Martin	Briggs, Mrs. Leome
Anderson, David W.	Brown, Alice
Anderson, Robbins B.	Brown, Francis H. I.
Andrew, Archie W.	Brown, George I.
*Andrews, Arthur L.	Brown, George I., Jr.
Angus, Donald	Brown, Zadoc W.
Anthony, J. Garner	Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.
Awai, George K.	Bryant, Mrs. Caroline G.
Bacon, George	Buck, Peter H.
Baker, Ray J.	Budge, Alexander G.
Baldwin, Samuel A.	Burnett, Gerald
Ballengee, M. E.	Burns, Eugene
Ballengee, Mrs. Marcella	Bushnell, Oswald A.
Banfield, Mrs. Alice L.	Cades, J. Russell
Bell, Janet	Cades, Milton
Bennett, Mrs. Nora H.	Carney, Mrs. Eleanor W.
Billson, Marcus K.	Carter, A. Hartwell
Birnie, Mrs. Ruth	Carter, Alfred W.
Black, Mrs. Ruth E.	Carter, Mrs. Catharine G.

* Deceased 1944-1945

- *Carter, Mrs. Helen S.
 Cartwright, Wm. Edward
 Castle, Alfred L.
 Castle, Harold K. L.
 Castro, Antonio D.
 Caum, Edward L.
 Chaffee, Mrs. Ebba Z.
 Chamberlain, William W.
 Chapin, Clare
 Christian, Mrs. Eloise
 Clark, T. Blake
 Clarke, Mrs. Jane Comstock
 Clarke, John K.
 Cluff, Mrs. Sophie J.
 Collins, George M.
 Colson, Warren H.
 Cooke, Mrs. Lilianet L.
 Cooke, C. Montague
 Cooke, Mrs. Dorothea S.
 Cooke, George P.
 Cooke, J. Platt
 Cooke, Mrs. Mary S.
 Cooke, Mrs. Muriel H.
 Cooper, Mrs. Kate
 Corbett, Gerald
 Corbett, Mrs. Nancy
 Correa, Genevieve
 Coulter, J. Wesley
 Cox, Mrs. Catherine E. B.
 Cox, Joel B.
 Crane, Charles
 Dahlquist, Mrs. Helen K.
 Damon, Mrs. Gertrude V.
 Damon, Mrs. Julia W.
 Damon, Mary M.
 Damon, Mrs. Muriel
 Das, Mrs. Elsie J.
 Denison, George P.
 Dillingham, Mrs. Frances
 Dillingham, Mrs. Harriet B.
 Dillingham, Mrs. Louise
 Dillingham, Walter F.
 Dineen, William
 Dodge, Charlotte P.
 Dowsett, Mrs. Laura
 Doyle, Mrs. Emma Lyons
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Cordelia B.
 Dunn, James M.
 Eckland, Victor
 Edwards, Webley
 Elbert, Samuel
 Elkinton, Mrs. Anna
 Ellis, Thomas W.
 Emory, Kenneth P.
 Ewart, Arthur F.
 Fairweather, Jane
 Faye, Hans Peter
 Fennell, Dolla
 Fernandes, Frank F.
 Fisher, Gerald
 Fisher, Mrs. Margaret S.
 Fleming, David F.
 Franckx, Fr. Valentine H.
 Fraser, J. May
 Fredericks, Pauline
 Fromkiss, Mrs. Marion
 Fuller, George G.
 Furer, William C.
 Galt, Carter
 George, William H.
 Gholson, Mrs. Margaret
 Gibson, Henry
 Goodbody, Thomas P.
 Green, Caroline P.
 Greene, Ernest W.
 Greenwell, Amy
 Greenwell, Mrs. Beatrice
 Greenwell, Mrs. James
 Gregory, Herbert E.
 Grossman, Edward
 *Gulick, Sidney L.
 Halford, Francis J.
 Hall, Charlotte V.
 Handy, Mrs. Willowdean
 Harrison, Fred
 Hart, Mrs. Marvel
 Hawaiian Sugar Planters'
 Experiment Station
 Hemenway, Charles R.
 Hinkley, Mrs. Irene A.
 Hite, Charles M.
 Hodgson, Joseph V.

Holt, Mrs. Henrietta D.
 Homsy, Mrs. Martha
 Hooley, Osborne E.
 Hormann, Bernhard L.
 Hoskins, Charlotta
 Houston, Victor S. K.
 Hudson, Loring G.
 Humme, Charles W.
 Hunnewell, James M.
 Hunter, Charles H.
 Henry E. Huntington

Library and Art Gallery

Jacobs, Gaskell S.
 Jaggar, Thomas A.
 Jaggar, Mrs. T. A.
 Jenks, Mrs. Anna K.
 Johnson, Jennie
 Jones, Keith K.
 Jones, Maude
 Judd, Alfred F., III
 Judd, Bernice
 Judd, Henry P.
 Judd, Lawrence M.
 Judd, Robert
 Kahale, Edward
 Kamehameha School for Girls
 Kanealii, Mrs. Rena
 Katsuki, Ichitaro
 Kauaihilo, Mrs. Norman
 *Kawanakoa,
 Princess Abigail
 Kay, Mrs. Anna
 Keawe, Arthur
 Keller, Arthur R.
 Kemp, Samuel B.
 Kenn, Charles
 Kennedy, Mrs. Martha
 Kimball, George P.
 King, Robert D.
 King, Samuel W.
 King, Wm. H. D.
 Kluegel, Henry A.
 Kopa, George C.
 Krauss, Noel L. H.
 Larsen, Nils Paul
 Larsen, Mrs. Sarah L.

Lecker, George T.
 Lee, Shao Chang
 Lewis, Abraham, Jr.
 Lewis, Dudley
 Lowrie, Robert B.
 Lowrey, Frederick J.
 Lowrey, Mrs. Ida I.
 Luahine, Mrs. Iolani
 Lucas, Mrs. Clorinda Low
 Luquiens, Huc-M.
 Lyman, Levi C.
 McClellan, Edwin North
 MacIntyre, Mrs. Florence
 MacIntyre, Janet L.
 McWayne, Charles A.
 Maier, Mrs. Martha M.
 Mann, Mrs. Henrietta
 Mann, James B.
 Marx, Benjamin L.
 Massee, Edward K.
 Massey, Mrs. Catherine L.
 Mellon, George D.
 Mellon, Mrs. Kathleen D.
 Mist, Herbert W. M.
 Mitchell, Donald
 Molyneux, Mrs. Jane K.
 Moody, Mrs. Harriet R.
 Morgan, James A.
 Morgan, Mrs. Rosamond S.
 Mori, Iga
 Morris, Penrose C.
 Morse, Marion
 Moses, Alphonse L.
 Murdoch, Clare
 Murray, Edwin P.
 Nawaa, Simeon
 Newman, Margaret
 Nowell, Allen M.
 Nye, Henry Atkinson
 Ohrt, Fred
 Olson, Gunder E.
 Osborne, Mrs. Joan D.
 Palmer, Harold S.
 Paradise of the Pacific
 Parke, Annie H.
 Pennington, Edgar L.

* Deceased 1944-1945

Peterson, Charles E.
 Phillips, J. Tice
 Pleadwell, F. L.
 Poole, Mrs. Alice
 Pratt, Helen G.
 Prendergast, Eleanor K.
 Pukui, Mrs. Mary K.
 Rawlins, Millie F.
 Restarick, Arthur E.
 Restarick, Mrs. J. Purdy
 Restarick, Mrs. May L.
 Richards, Mrs. Mary A.
 Riest, Birdie
 Robertson, Mrs. J. L.
 Robertson, Mrs. Ululani
 Robinson, J. Lawrence P.
 Rohrig, Hermann
 Ross, Mrs. Bernice A.
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